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**‘The Communities Within. The Integration of
Muslim Immigrants in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and
Bremen from the 1960s to the 1990s.’**

Sarah Elizabeth Hackett

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Chapter 1: From Permit to Passport

A History of Immigration to Modern Britain & West Germany.

Human history has long witnessed population movements. Over the centuries, people have been displaced and attracted by a multitude of push and pull factors. Whether by the consequences of war, the spread of disease and famine, or the conscious attraction of a new life, people have been uprooted from their indigenous societies and taken themselves, their cultures, religious beliefs, languages, and ethnicities to new, foreign and host societies.¹ The basic human need of shelter and security has resulted in these peoples either integrating into their adopted society, craving acceptance, and openly adhering to its paradigms or, through a feeling of insecurity, alienation or of hostility, living in geographically isolated and culturally insular immigrant communities shunning the trappings of their host societies in favour of retaining indigenous cultures, practices, and beliefs. Both these processes of integration and alienation tell a great deal about the incoming migrants and about the society to which they have arrived. Much of this will depend upon the historical relationships between peoples, economies, and religions. The rate and process of integration, assimilation, or alienation could be determined by events hundreds of years ago and thousands of miles away from the new immigrant community. Not just in Europe, but throughout the world, modern cultures and societies have been shaped by the movements of people. This has been particularly true of post-war Western Europe whose free market economy and economic buoyancy acted as a major attraction

¹ See M. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (Cambridge, 1951), R. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856-1860* (London, 1992), J. Elkinton, *The Doukhobors: Their History in Russia, Their Migration to Canada* (Philadelphia, 1903), E. Guillet, *The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing by Sailingship Since 1770* (Toronto, 1963), T. Morris-Suzuki, *Exodus to North Korea: Shadows From Japan's Cold War* (Lanham, 2006), E. Eltigani, *War and Drought in Sudan: Essays on Population Displacement* (Gainesville, 1995), C. McDowell, *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-induced Displacement* (Oxford, 1996), T. Falola and N. Afolabi, *The Human Cost of African Migrations* (London, 2007) and E. Newman and J. van Selm, *Refugees and Forced Displacement: International Security, Human Vulnerability, and the State* (Bristol, 2003).



to the economically deprived peoples of Europe's fringes and the newly independent peoples of the British and French empires.²

Today, there is no denying that Muslim immigration has a fixed place at the centre of Europe's political agenda. Recent years have witnessed an increase in both the number of events and people involved in this debate. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Europe has witnessed France's headscarf affair, the rise of the National Front, and the Madrid bombings. These have been joined by Denmark's cartoon scandal, the murders of a Dutch anti-immigration politician and a filmmaker who criticised Islam's attitude towards women, and the coming to power of Haider's far-right party in Austria.³ The UK alone has been the home of the catastrophe surrounding the murder investigation of Stephen Lawrence, the Rushdie affair, debates on single faith schools, and suffered the consequences of home-grown Islamic fundamentalist terrorists during the London bombings of July 2005.⁴ Germany has been home to Islamic fundamentalists connected with the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre and 9/11, a Turkish community that is still feeling the effects of the guest-worker rotation system and its accompanying

² See K. Schönwälder, R. Ohliger and T. Triadafilopoulos, *European Encounters: Migrants, Migration, and European Societies Since 1945* (Aldershot, 2002), B. Khader, *L'immigration Maghrébine en Europe: Un Bilan* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1990), A. Memmi, *Decolonization and the Decolonized* (Minneapolis, 2006), H. Kopnina, *East to West Migration: Russian Migrants in Western Europe* (Aldershot, 2005), S. Ponzanesi and D. Merolla, *Migrant Cartographies: New Cultural and Literary Spaces in Post-Colonial Europe* (Lanham, 2005), P. Silverstein, *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation* (Bloomington, 2004), G. Benton and F. Pieke, *The Chinese in Europe* (Basingstoke, 1998), R. Hansen and P. Weil, *Towards a European Nationality: Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality Law in the EU* (Basingstoke, 2001), T. Ben Jelloun, *French Hospitality: Racism and North African Immigrants* (New York, 1999) and B. Ercan Argun, *Turkey in Germany: The Transnational Sphere of Deutschkei* (New York, 2003).

³ See R. Kastoryano, 'French Secularism and Islam: France's Headscarf Affair', in T. Modood, A. Triandafyllidou and R. Zapata-Barrero (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach* (London, 2006), pp. 57-69, C. Killian, 'The Other Side of the Veil: North African Women in France Respond to the Headscarf Affair', *Gender and Society* 17 (2003), pp. 567-590, N. Mayer, *Ces Français qui votent FN* (Paris, 1999) and A. Hahn, *Der Aufstieg der Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs unter Jörg Haider: Über den Erfolg einer rechtspopulistischen Partei und ihres Vorsitzenden* (Berlin, 2002).

⁴ See L. Bridges, 'The Lawrence Inquiry. Incompetence, Corruption, and Institutional Racism', *Journal of Law and Society* 26 (1999), pp. 298-322, J. Foster, T. Newburn and A. Souhami, *Assessing the Impact of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* (London, 2005), T. Brennan, 'Rushdie, Islam, and Postcolonial Criticism', *Social Text* 31/32 (1992), pp. 271-276, A. Mazrui, 'Satanic Verses or a Satanic Novel? Moral Dilemmas of the Rushdie Affair', *Third World Quarterly* 12 (1990), pp. 116-139, C. Hewer, 'Schools for Muslims', *Oxford Review of Education* 27 (2001), pp. 515-527 and M. Rai, *7/7: The London Bombings, Islam and the Iraq War* (London, 2006).

discriminatory practices, and is a country that has only recently admitted to being a nation of immigrants.⁵

It is within this European history of immigration and with this context in mind that this thesis will be placed and its relevance apparent. It will compare and contrast the situation of Muslim immigrants in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, with that of those in Bremen, Germany, from the 1960s to the present day. National and local laws and policies will be analysed to establish their consequences for Muslim immigrants in these two cities. An assessment of how successfully these ethnic minority communities have become integrated into their adopted environments will be provided by examining their socio-economic, cultural, and legal status in the areas of employment, housing, and education. This includes, crucially, an evaluation of the indigenous societies' attitudes towards these Muslim immigrant communities. What this thesis proposes is, not only a comparison between the two nations, but also an accumulation of economic and social factors of immigration, such as commercial integration, business elasticity to market demands, capital procurement, both in housing and employment, and the process of immigrant self-actualisation. This will allow a study of immigration, not only from the viewpoint of the civil servant, but also from the position of the immigrant, detailing their experiences and challenges at an international, national, and sub-regional level - something lacking within the current historiography. My approach to research encompasses published and archival sources, as well as oral history interviews when possible.

The purpose of this chapter is, firstly, to provide an outline of immigration to both the Britain and Germany. This will be followed by an analysis of why Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Bremen have been chosen, where this research project fits into the existing historiography and the methodology utilised. The following three chapters will assess the employment, housing and education sectors respectively. They will explore the performance of Muslim immigrants within these three sectors from the 1960s through to

⁵ See R. Münz and R. Ulrich, 'Changing Patterns of Immigration to Germany, 1994-1995, Ethnic Origins, Demographic Structure, Future Prospects', in K. Bade and M. Weiner (eds.), *Migration Past, Migration Future, Germany and the United States* (Oxford, 1997), p. 65, H. Booth, *The Migration Process in Britain and West Germany, Two Demographic Studies of Migrant Populations* (Aldershot, 1992), p. 111 and T. Faist, 'How to Define a Foreigner? The Symbolic Politics of Immigration in German Partisan Discourse, 1978-1992', in M. Baldwin-Edwards and M. Schain (eds.), *The Politics of Immigration in Western Europe* (Ilford, 1994), p. 51.

the 1990s as well as considering Newcastle and Bremen's local authorities' attitudes towards them. Overall, this thesis will establish an account of how Newcastle and Bremen have performed as the adopted societies of Muslim immigrants in relation to their respective traditional national patterns and, crucially, in comparison to each other. It will soon become evident the extent to which the thinking behind Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy and West Germany's guest-worker rotation system and, to a lesser degree, Britain's central and Germany's federal governments, have determined the two countries' post-Second World War immigration histories.

Unlike much of the historiography, this thesis concludes that the performance of Muslim immigrants within the employment, housing and education sectors has not been the result of discrimination, non-integration or prejudice, but rather of a conscious decision on their behalf to live parallel lives.⁶ Furthermore, whilst much of the literature has established that both gender and religion have played a role in determining overall levels of integration,⁷ this study of Newcastle and Bremen rejects such claims as neither characteristic has featured in the relevant archival documents. Instead, rather than seeing the Muslim immigrant as the bystander of government policy and direction, this thesis recognises the individual as having personal agency over his or her own destiny, and argues that non-assimilation need not equate to non-integration.

Although the importance of Muslim immigration is indeed primarily a post-Second World War phenomenon, the fact that both Britain and Germany experienced immigration prior to this period should not be ignored. Spencer argues that black soldiers who fought in the Roman armies that invaded Britain, African slaves who were emancipated during the first half of the 1700s, and Asian seamen who have lived in dockyard communities since the early 1900s, are testimony to the fact that Britain has a

⁶ See Community Cohesion Review Team, *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team* (London, 2001), p. 9 and D. Phillips, 'Parallel Lives? Challenging Discourses of British Muslim Self-segregation', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006), pp. 25-40.

⁷ See E. Kofman, 'Female 'Birds of Passage' a Decade Later: Gender and Immigration in the European Union', *International Migration Review* 33 (1999), pp. 269-299, P. Bhachu, 'Identities Constructed and Reconstructed: Representations of Asian Women in Britain', in G. Bjuis (ed.), *Migrant Women* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 99-118 and F. Davis and B. Heyl, 'Turkish Women and Guestworker Migration to West Germany', in R. Simon and C. Brettell (eds.), *International Migration: The Female Experience* (Totowa, 1986), pp. 178-196.

long history of racial diversity.⁸ In Germany, it has proved more difficult to trace patterns of immigration. As Herbert rightfully suggests, despite the fact that foreigners had arrived and settled in Germany for limited periods of time for hundreds of years, the concept of “foreigner” remained hazy. This was because, before the foundation of the modern German state, to be German was not a question of nationhood, but rather one of a loose ethnicity. In other words, the definition of a “foreigner” could not be confirmed, whilst that of a “German” also was not.⁹ However, despite these earlier immigration patterns, there is no denying that the ethnic minority groups seen in both Britain and Germany today are the result of post-Second World War immigration.

As Spencer asserts, it is perhaps surprising that, in spite of her vast Empire within which there was free movement and her position as leader of the Commonwealth, Britain did not become a multi-racial society until late in its history.¹⁰ Furthermore, despite the fact that colonial immigration took place in a very different context to that of Germany’s guest-worker rotation system, the hostility displayed by official policy towards coloured immigrants has remained constant throughout.¹¹ Whilst most works have focused solely on Britain’s racially discriminatory practices,¹² Karatani has raised vital questions concerning British citizenship. He attempts to ascertain why British governments did not create the status of British citizenship until 1981 and why they have not publicly recognised the fact that, contrary to other Western European nations, British citizenship is still not defined by the concept of nationhood.¹³ The post-Second World War period in Britain witnessed governments attempting to fulfil two vital, yet conflicting aims: the maintenance of the common status and the establishment of a national citizenship. As Karatani argues, the differences between nationality and immigration laws have meant

⁸ I. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain* (London, 1997), p. 1.

⁹ U. Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany, 1880-1980. Seasonal Workers/Forced Laborers/Guest Workers* (University of Michigan, 1990), p. 1.

¹⁰ Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939*, p. 5.

¹¹ See Z. Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration. Immigration, ‘Race’ and ‘Race’ Relations in Post-war Britain* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 8-9, R. Karatani, *Defining British Citizenship. Empire, Commonwealth and Modern Britain* (London, 2003), pp. 95-96 and Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939*, p. 4.

¹² See J. Rex and S. Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City. A Class Analysis* (London, 1979) and J. Walvin, *Passage to Britain. Immigration in British History and Politics* (Harmondsworth, 1984).

¹³ Karatani, *Defining British Citizenship*, p. 106.

that New Commonwealth immigrants have faced additional challenges in gaining entrance to Britain compared to those from the Old Commonwealth.¹⁴

Commonwealth immigrants, as subjects of the British Empire, had the right to enter Britain and enjoy voting rights, the right to join the armed forces, and to work in the Civil Service. Many of them were not unfamiliar with what it was to be British and had a good knowledge of the English language, were familiar with British history, and had experienced the British education system. British governments have historically favoured the free movement of labour within the Empire and, despite the fact that all the self-governing Dominions had initiated a system that controlled immigration by the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain had taken no such measures against immigration from the Commonwealth. The 1905 Aliens Act had, however, been implemented to regulate Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe.¹⁵ This liberal political stance towards Commonwealth immigration was further reinforced by the Nationality Acts of 1914 and 1948. In 1948, David Maxwell Fyfe, the Conservative spokesman on home affairs, portrayed the government's view when stating: 'We are proud that we impose no colour bar restrictions making it difficult for them when they come here...we must maintain our great metropolitan tradition of hospitality to everyone from every part of our Empire.'¹⁶ However, as Layton-Henry indicates, this statement was made under the assumption that the largest proportion of population movement would continue to consist of emigration from Britain throughout the Empire, not the reverse.¹⁷

Following an increase in levels of colonial immigration during the 1950s, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act was introduced in 1962 and had a major impact on the immigration patterns from the New Commonwealth. Although the Act caused immigration to fall once it was introduced, 1960 and 1961 witnessed increased levels of immigration as colonial immigrants hastened their settlements in Britain before the controls came into effect. The Act ensured that immigration fell to levels in keeping with the demand for labour in times of recession and the voucher system worked in a way that

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁵ See L. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London, 1960), J. Garrard, *The English and Immigration: 1880-1910* (Oxford, 1971) and B. Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London, 1972).

¹⁶ *Parliamentary Debates, Commons (Hansard)*, Vol. 453 Col. 405, 7 July 1948.

¹⁷ Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, p. 10.

guaranteed that immigration could not rise indefinitely, even when the demand for labour increased.¹⁸ Booth explains how this system allowed immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh to work in Britain only for a few years at a time.¹⁹ This meant that these immigrants partook in a type of worker rotation system, not dissimilar to the one that dominated West Germany's immigration patterns through the 1960s and 1970s.

Male immigrants took turns in coming to Britain to work and many chose to settle permanently, bringing their families over to join them. Hansen offers perhaps the most precise description of the impact of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act on Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi immigrants by explaining that the British subjects' right to enter the UK depended on their nationality. He summarises the Act's effect as follows: 'Britons and colonial British subjects continued to hold identical citizenship, but only citizens with British-issued passports enjoyed the full rights of citizenship. In the history of British nationality law, the introduction of immigration control without the reform of citizenship was a revolutionary moment.'²⁰ In other words, although subjects of the Commonwealth may have held British passports, they were not automatically permitted entrance to Britain.

These immigration controls were soon paired with measures to promote integration. By the mid-1960s, not only was it deemed necessary by the British government to limit the number of immigrants entering Britain, but also to assist with integrating those who had already settled in the country. As Hansen argues, despite the borders being completely closed, Britain was still to experience immigration levels of circa 30,000 a year during the 1960s due to inevitable family reunification.²¹ It had become clear by this point that colonial immigrants were suffering racism and, in many cases, were not becoming integrated into their adopted society. As a result, the Race Relations Act 1965 was introduced. This Act acted as Britain's foundation for governmental measures against racism and for integration.

Although this Act did indeed serve its purpose as a backbone for further legislation, scholars agree that the act itself was flawed. Layton-Henry explains how,

¹⁸ See C. Peach, *West Indian Migration to Britain: A Social Geography* (London, 1968).

¹⁹ Booth, *The Migration Process in Britain and West Germany*, p. 17.

²⁰ R. Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain. The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation* (Oxford, 2000), p. 101.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

although it outlawed discrimination in public places and incitements to racial hatred in both spoken and written mediums, it disregarded the vital sectors of employment and housing.²² Rex and Moore experienced the drawbacks of this legislation firsthand during the study they carried out amongst Sparkbrook's immigrant community in Birmingham during the 1960s.²³ The reason for this oversight was not only Britain's varied economy and the economic structural change experienced during the 1960s creating wide geographical employment variations, but also due to housing policy being devolved amongst a myriad of semi-autonomous and independent metropolitan borough and county councils.

It was not long before an attempt was made to rectify these shortcomings and the second Race Relations Act was introduced in 1968. This Act made racial discrimination unlawful in the sectors of employment and housing as well as in the provision of goods, services and facilities. This second Act was surrounded by greater controversy than the first due to the fact that it was deemed by some not to have been as extensive within the areas of employment and housing as was expected.²⁴ Secondly, the Act was somewhat overshadowed by the dramatic events of early 1968, namely the Kenyan Asians question and the infamous Powell 'rivers of blood' speech.²⁵ Nevertheless, this path of integration for post-colonial immigrants was chosen in conjunction with firmly closed doors to either further immigration or British nationality and was, according to Favell, 'the new open and inclusive framework around an idea of multicultural, "multinational" Britain.'²⁶

This was closely followed by the 1971 Immigration Act, which replaced the 1919 Aliens Act and did not highlight such distinctions between aliens and Commonwealth citizens. The historiography has tended to pair this Act with the 1981 British Nationality Act. Solomos views both pieces of legislation as an 'attempt by the government to further circumvent the rights of those black Commonwealth citizens with a legal right to enter

²² Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, p. 49.

²³ J. Rex and R. Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict. A Study of Sparkbrook* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 269 – 270.

²⁴ See Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, p. 56.

²⁵ See A. Favell, 'Multicultural Race Relations in Britain: Problems of Interpretation and Explanation', in C. Joppke (ed.), *Challenge to the Nation-State. Immigration in Western Europe and the United States* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 338 – 339, Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, pp. 165 – 178, Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 55 – 57 and Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, pp. 51 – 53.

²⁶ Favell, 'Multicultural Race Relations in Britain', p. 339.

Britain and to construct the questions of nationality along racial lines.’²⁷ Macdonald and Blake support this viewpoint and believe that these pieces of legislation did nothing more than promote the racially discriminatory provisions that already existed within Britain’s immigration law.²⁸

More recently, however, Hansen has taken an opposing standpoint. He believes that, given the tortured nature of British nationality law, the 1981 British Nationality Act in particular, was an achievement. It not only succeeded at rationalisation and clarification, it also defined British citizenship for the first time. He argues that immigrants were not unfairly treated in that all migrants from the colonies arrived with full citizenship rights. Those from independent Commonwealth countries who arrived before 1962 acquired citizenship after one year and those who have arrived since 1971 have been able to apply for citizenship after five years. Furthermore, he even goes as far as to dismiss Paul’s claim that this legislation stems from a discourse of blood, family, and kith and kin as nothing short of absurd.²⁹ The viewpoint of Hansen looks increasingly pertinent when one considers the increasing political irrelevance of the British Commonwealth to domestic policy in Britain during the Thatcher years and the distancing of Britain’s policy from her imperial past and emergence as a modern European nation.

Furthermore, when comparing Britain’s citizenship laws to those of Germany, it would appear that Hansen’s opinion is much more accurate than that of the more traditional historiography. Until the 1999 Citizenship Law, the concept of citizenship in Germany was still based on the 1913 Citizenship Law, legislation that had been implemented throughout the *Kaiserreich*, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the Federal Republic.³⁰ According to Panayi, this meant that ‘people born in a part of Eastern

²⁷ J. Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain* (Houndmills, 1993), p. 71.

²⁸ I. Macdonald and N. Blake, *Immigration Law and Practice in the United Kingdom* (London, 1995), p. 144.

²⁹ See K. Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-war Era* (Ithaca, 1997), p. 183.

³⁰ See M. Fulbrook, ‘Germany for the Germans? Citizenship and Nationality in a Divided Nation’, in D. Cesarani and M. Fulbrook (eds.), *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe* (London, 1996), A. Bleckmann, ‘Anwartschaft auf die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit?’, *Neue Juristische Wochenschrift* 22 (1990), pp. 1397-1401 and C. Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State. The United States, Germany, and Great Britain* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 200-201.

Europe who can demonstrate German antecedents have had greater rights than second, third, fourth or any generation of Turks, Greeks or Italians born on German soil.’³¹

Although British citizenship was undoubtedly more accessible to immigrants than was the case in Germany, there was still a need in Britain to promote the integration of immigrants, and this took the form of the Race Relations Act 1965. This piece of legislation prohibited racial hatred and made discrimination illegal in places of public resort on the basis of ethnicity, nationality or race.³² This Act was soon deemed ineffective, and Britain witnessed the implementation of a second Race Relations Act in 1968, one that was designed to combat racism in employment, housing and insurance.³³ However, racial discrimination was not curbed to the extent that was hoped and, as a result, the third and final Race Relations Act emerged in 1976. This legislation extended the definition of “discrimination” to include indirect discrimination, gave individuals access to county courts when they wished to make a complaint, and abolished both the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission in favour of the Commission for Racial Equality.³⁴

Despite the fact that this measure has indeed advanced the manner in which issues of ethnic minority representation are approached,³⁵ as Joppke points out, it did not take the affirmative action frequently assumed, as employers were not obliged to guarantee ethnic minority representation.³⁶ Nevertheless, there is no doubting the impact of this legislation. Its importance is witnessed in the fact that it was one of the few bipartisan policies that survived Thatcher’s era,³⁷ and that it has been the backbone of immigration

³¹ P. Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany. Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others* (Harlow, 2000), p. 259.

³² See Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, pp. 175-176, Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, p. 217, B. Hepple, ‘Race Relations Act 1965’, *The Modern Law Review* 29 (1966), pp. 306-314 and L. Claiborne, ‘Law and Race in Britain’, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 407 (1973), pp. 167-178.

³³ See Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*, p. 228 and B. Hepple, ‘Race Relations Act 1968’, *The Modern Law Review* 32 (1969), pp. 181-186.

³⁴ See I. Macdonald, *Race Relations: The New Law* (London, 1977), L. Lustgarten, ‘The Grounds of Discrimination Under the Race Relations Act 1976 in the United Kingdom’, *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 28 (1979), pp. 221-240 and C. Munro, ‘Race Laws and Policy in the United Kingdom’, in Z. Layton-Henry and C. Wilpert (eds.), *Challenging Racism in Britain and Germany* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 171-174.

³⁵ See Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, p. 228.

³⁶ Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*, p. 230.

³⁷ See A. Favell, *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain* (London, 1998), Chapter 4 and Favell, ‘Multicultural Race Relations in Britain’.

and race relations in Britain ever since.³⁸ This Race Relations Act has important historiographical consequences. The fact that the British government legislates nationally, but this legislation is adopted regionally based on regional circumstances and at different paces, questions the current historiography of immigration to Britain at a local level. Unlike much of the historical literature, this thesis therefore intends to analyse national legislation through local implementation, the only study to do this for Newcastle since the Race Relations Act of 1976.

It has undeniably been Commonwealth immigration that has shaped Britain into the multicultural society that it is today. Despite the immigration controls, the fear that often arrived with coloured Commonwealth immigrants, anti-immigrant politicians such as Thatcher, extremists such as Powell and the uncertainty concerning British citizenship, Muslim immigrants primarily from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have been settling in and establishing their own communities in Britain for the last fifty years. It has been Britain's colonial history that gave way to an immigration pattern in which migrants arrived independently with social and economic aspirations. It is this type of immigration that marks the key difference in the manner in which post- Second World War Muslim immigrants arrived in Britain compared to West Germany.

Due to West Germany's economic miracle of the 1950s, the fact that the economy had reached full employment by 1960³⁹ and the ever increasing need for foreign labour, recruitment agreements were signed with eight countries (Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia) starting in 1955. The result was a guest-worker rotation system that generated privately negotiated economic immigration. Many scholars have highlighted the fact that many predicted that this scheme would be successful as it was initiated on the back of the large influx and integration of *Vertriebene*, expellees from former German territories in the East, and a wave of refugees from East Germany. However, it remains debatable whether such a comparison is justified as the expellees were expected to become integrated in German society from the beginning whereas guest-workers, by definition, were not. The migration from East to

³⁸ See Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, p. 228.

³⁹ See U. Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland* (Munich, 2001), pp. 194-195.

West Germany ended only due to the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961.⁴⁰ At the time at which the recruitment agreements were signed, the advantages of foreign labour for West German companies were undeniable. Amongst others, the historiography has cited lower wages and being able to fill unattractive positions Germans rejected.⁴¹

There is no doubt that, since the early 1960s, the immigrant population has become a fixed part of Germany's social landscape and, as a result, German historians and social scientists have produced a bountiful historiography on guest-worker immigration and its consequences.⁴² Furthermore, plenty of scholars have discussed the arrival and settlement of the guest-worker population in relation to Germany's Nazi past.⁴³ By the end of the twentieth century, there were over seven million foreign citizens living in Germany.⁴⁴ What has evolved over the decades is the formation of a minority, a group which has become segregated from mainstream society due to political, ethno-cultural, socioeconomic, linguistic, and religious reasons.⁴⁵ The new minorities in West Germany were recruited by means of an estimated four hundred recruitment offices in the countries concerned. The aim of these offices was to find workers to fill vacancies in firms and companies in West Germany.

⁴⁰ See Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*, pp. 194-202, W. Barbieri, *Ethics of Citizenship: Immigration and Group Rights in Germany* (London, 1998), p. 28, L. Hoffmann, *Die unvollendete Republik: Zwischen Einwanderungsland und deutschem Nationalstaat* (Cologne, 1990), P. Lüttinger, *Integration der Vertriebenen* (Frankfurt, 1989) and K. Otto, *Westwärts – Heimwärts? Aussiedlerpolitik zwischen "Deutschtumelei" und "Verfassungsauftrag"* (Bielefeld, 1990).

⁴¹ See H. Korte, 'Guestworker Question or Immigration Issue? Social Sciences and Public Debate in the Federal Republic of Germany', in K. Bade (ed.), *Population, Labour and Migration in 19th- and 20th-Century Germany* (Leamington Spa, 1987), pp. 165-168 and E. Gaugler, *Ausländerintegration in deutschen Industriebetrieben* (Königstein, 1985).

⁴² See K. Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland 1880-1980* (Berlin, 1983), K. Dohse, *Ausländische Arbeiter und bürgerlicher Staat: Genese und Funktion von staatlicher Ausländerpolitik und Ausländerrecht, vom Kaiserreich bis zur BRD* (Berlin, 1985), S. Castles, *Migrant Workers and the Transformation of Western Societies* (Ithaca, 1989) and U. Schöneberg, *Gestern Gastarbeiter, morgen Minderheit* (Frankfurt, 1993).

⁴³ See K. Schönwälder, 'West German Society and Foreigners in the 1960s', in P. Gassert and A. Steinweis (eds.), *Coping With the Nazi Past. West German Debates on Nazism and Generational Conflict, 1955-1975* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 113-127, J. Fijalkowski, 'Aggressive Nationalism, Immigration Pressure and Asylum Policy Disputes in Contemporary Germany', *International Migration Review* 27 (1993), pp. 850-869 and P. O'Brien, 'Continuity and Change in Germany's Treatment of Non-Germans', *International Migration Review* 22 (1988), pp. 109-134.

⁴⁴ See Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, p. 259.

⁴⁵ See F. Heckmann, *Die Bundesrepublik: Ein Einwanderungsland? Zur Soziologie der Gastarbeiterbevölkerung als Einwandererminorität* (Stuttgart, 1981), H. Korte, *Cultural Identity and Structural Marginalisation of Migrant Workers* (Strasbourg, 1982), H. Bausinger, *Ausländer, Inländer: Arbeitsmigration und kulturelle Identität* (Tübingen, 1986) and H. Esser and J. Friedrichs, *Generation und Identität: Theoretische und empirische Beiträge zur Migrationssoziologie* (Opladen, 1990).

Before a guest-worker arrived in West Germany, he had to have been interviewed, medically examined, and screened for a criminal record. Furthermore, a contract had to be signed, accommodation for his stay in West Germany had to be provided, and his transport was arranged for him.⁴⁶ Initially, the recruitment of guest-workers was slow. According to Green, in 1960, there were still only circa 690,000 foreigners in West Germany and, of these, 280,000 were in taxpaying employment.⁴⁷ The recruitment of foreign labour soon increased, however, and by 1964, West Germany was welcoming its one-millionth guest-worker, the occasion on which the Minister of Labour said: 'These one million persons on the job in Germany help contribute to maintaining production growth while keeping prices stable and maintaining our reputation on world markets.'⁴⁸ As Joppke correctly assesses, at the beginning, labour market policy acted as foreign policy.⁴⁹ In other words, the guest-worker rotation system had been established purely for economic reasons, in order to counteract the inflationary pressure of a full employment economy. It was an immigration scheme that involved few social provisions or costs on behalf of the German government.⁵⁰

On the whole, it initially appeared as though this recruitment system would benefit every party concerned. The recruiters deemed it as one that would provide an opportunity to expand the West German economy without the burden of excessive financial investment and social costs. The policymakers in the countries providing the workers believed that this system would favour them because they would remove many of their unskilled and unemployed workers, who would bring in foreign currency and eventually return as trained workers. The workers themselves were to earn more in West Germany than they would in their respective home countries and this would, in turn, allow them to provide for their families and enhance their economic status upon returning home. Furthermore, it provided German workers with an opportunity for upward mobility. However, as is argued by scholars such as Herbert and Barbieri, the long-term

⁴⁶ See Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, p. 217 and Booth, *The Migration Process in Britain and West Germany*, p. 110.

⁴⁷ S. Green, *The Politics of Exclusion. Institutions and Immigration Policy in Contemporary Germany* (Manchester, 2004), p. 32.

⁴⁸ Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 212.

⁴⁹ Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*, p. 65.

⁵⁰ See P. Martin and M. Miller, 'Guestworkers: Lessons From Western Europe', *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 33 (1980), pp. 318-319.

economic and social ramifications of this labour importation were not considered in much detail.⁵¹ Consequently, the situation in which West Germany found itself by the 1970s was undoubtedly very different from the one politicians had foreseen.

Unlike in the UK where immigration has been at the centre of the political agenda ever since the end of the Second World War, West Germany witnessed very little public debate concerning the hiring of foreign labour during the early 1960s when the number of guest-workers started rising dramatically. Furthermore, the fact that additional economic growth in the future would require a further increase in foreign workers appeared not to be scandalous at the time.⁵² It is essential to realize that this was due to the manner in which the role of the guest-workers was portrayed to the West German population. Contrary to the UK where Commonwealth immigrants started settling in the late 1950s to early 1960s for the long-term, guest-workers in West Germany were seen as a temporary phenomenon, a group of immigrant workers whom Herbert terms 'a reserve labour army.'⁵³ This ideology of guest-workers remaining in West Germany for a limited amount of time only, being able to be repatriated to their homelands whenever it was deemed necessary, and only being hired when they were needed by West German companies was stated on numerous occasions by both the press⁵⁴ and national organizations, such as the Employers' Associations.⁵⁵

The number of foreigners in West Germany continued to rise. According to Münz and Ulrich, by 1970, there were 3 million foreigners in West Germany (5% of the total population) and, by 1973, there were 2.6 million guest-workers (12% of all gainfully employed people in West Germany), 605,000, or 23%, of which were of Turkish origin.⁵⁶ By the end of the 1960s, the recruitment of guest-workers was not looked upon so favorably. Many were forced to return to their home countries during the 1966-1967 recession and a complete stop was put to recruitment following the oil crisis of 1973. Despite the belief that the ban on recruitment would result in the shrinkage of West

⁵¹ Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 210 and Barbieri, *Ethnics of Citizenship*, p. 28.

⁵² Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 210.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 211.

⁵⁴ See *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 'Italiener in der deutschen Industrie – Ergebnis eines Experiments', 21 October 1959.

⁵⁵ See C. Rosenmöller, *Probleme der ausländischen Arbeitskräfte in der Bundesrepublik, Konjunkturpolitik* (Berlin, 1966), p. 105.

⁵⁶ Münz and Ulrich, 'Changing Patterns of Immigration to Germany', p. 79.

Germany's foreign communities, this did not prove to be the case. Although the majority of immigrant groups, such as the Italians and the Greeks, witnessed a decline, the total number of foreigners in West Germany continued to increase during the 1970s due to Turkish family reunification.

There were numerous reasons why Turkish workers chose to remain in their adopted society both before and after the 1973 recruitment ban. Firstly, as Turkish workers were an economic asset to West German companies, their contracts were regularly renewed despite the government's initial two-year rotation policy. Secondly, the Turkish government had not established an efficient reintegration system for when these workers returned and, hence, many chose to remain in West Germany where employment was already secured.⁵⁷ Whilst before the 1973 ban the vast majority of foreigners arriving to Germany were young males migrating for economic reasons, after 1973, a large proportion of the immigrants were dependants of those already settled in Germany.⁵⁸ Their children started attending local schools and, over time, their ties with Turkey began to weaken. These Turkish communities steadily developed what Rist terms 'hyphenated' identities, a characteristic that sets them apart from the indigenous German population, but also from that of their homeland.⁵⁹ There have been few places where this has been more clearly demonstrated than in Bremen where, although Turkish immigrants live amongst the indigenous working class, they do so as an ethnic group, a characteristic that accentuates their religious, cultural and social differences.

There is little doubt that immigrants in Germany benefited from the 1949 German Basic Law. On the whole, this legislation allowed foreigners to extend their residency, bring their families to join them and, furthermore, committed the state to protect marriage and family.⁶⁰ Once the process of family reunification started to occur, there was no

⁵⁷ See Barbieri, *Ethnics of Citizenship*, p. 29.

⁵⁸ See G. Völker, 'Labor Migration: Aid to the West German Economy?', in R. Krane (ed.), *Manpower Mobility Across Cultural Boundaries* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 12-13, S. Castles and G. Kosack, *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe* (London, 1973), p. 51 and N. Adadan-Unat, 'Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women', *International Migration Review* 11 (1977), p. 33.

⁵⁹ Ray Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany: The Prospects for Pluralism* (New York, 1978), p. 245.

⁶⁰ See Barbieri, *Ethnics of Citizenship*, p. 30, J. Isensee, 'Die staatrechtliche Stellung der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', *Veröffentlichungen der Vereinigung der Deutschen Staatsrechtslehrer* 32 (1974) and G. Schwerdtfeger, *Welche rechtlichen Vorkehrungen empfehlen sich, um die Rechtsstellung von Ausländern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland angemessen zu gestalten?* (Munich, 1980).

doubt that the Turkish community was in West Germany for the long-term and that, instead of being able to repatriate them after they had served their time on the employment market, the government found itself having to assist with the integration of this increasingly settled foreign worker population. Future governments, such as the conservative-liberal coalition of the early 1980s, attempted to encourage foreigners to return to their countries of origin by means of cash incentives.

On the whole, however, this system proved unsuccessful. Revisionists of the 1980s often had contrasting theories concerning the future of West Germany's immigrant community. Some argued that, no matter how long they had resided in West Germany, immigrants of both the first and second generations would eventually return to their homelands.⁶¹ Others, however, believed that it had become clear that they had settled for the long-term and that there was only to be a further increase in West Germany's immigrant community due to additional family reunification.⁶² Some scholars of the late 1980s and early 1990s have stressed that the intention of the Turkish community to remain in West Germany indefinitely is witnessed in the fact that they were establishing ties of both an economic and political nature with their host society.⁶³

This adds a new dimension to the history of Muslim immigration to both Germany and Britain in that, though economic migration was the initial cause of population influx, the slower and creeping process of family reunification has undoubtedly contributed to total numbers. This is a factor which has been overlooked within the historiography due to the continuing predominance of political history with determinable statutes and acts, and the reluctance of many historians to deal with the more shifting and clouded areas of society and ethnicity. As has been shown by the importance of family reunification and the experiences of the migrants themselves, the social dimension cannot be overlooked.

Neither Newcastle or Bremen and their respective Muslim populations can be viewed in isolation. Their experiences, alienation, and integration have depended upon,

⁶¹ See F. Ebert-Stiftung, *Situation der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Repräsentativuntersuchung* (Bonn, 1986).

⁶² See A. Pöschl and P. Schmuck, *Die Rückkehr—Ende einer Illusion: Türkische Gastarbeiterfamilien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und das Problem ihrer Rückkehr in die Türkei* (Munich, 1984).

⁶³ See E. Özcan, *Türkische Immigrantorganisationen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin, 1989) and M. Hoch, 'Türkische politische Organisationen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', *Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik* 1 (1981), pp. 17 – 22.

not only the histories of their origin countries, but also those of their hosts. Britain's role as the imperial hub for a quarter of the world's surface has led to the creation of the socioeconomic and cultural entity of the Commonwealth. Depending on pre-existing links and bonds, Muslim immigrants arrived to Britain as ex-subjects of the imperial project. In Germany, however, the Turkish immigrants arrived as nothing short of economic pawns in the country's prospering economy. What is being proposed here is a thorough and all-embracing study. Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy and Germany's guest-worker rotation system will be analyzed, not only in their much studied national and political contexts, but also at the level of implementation. In so doing, this thesis will be unique in peeling away the politics to reveal the people underneath.

Newcastle & Bremen: Opened Arms or Closed Communities?

The historiography on immigration into Britain and Germany is extensive. The works concentrating on the immigrant communities of individual cities, however, have rarely acknowledged Newcastle and Bremen. Instead, the focus has always been on cities with large and long-established ethnic minority communities, such as London, Birmingham, and Bradford in Britain, and Berlin, Frankfurt, and Stuttgart in Germany.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ For London see M. Dalton and J. Seaman, 'The Distribution of New Commonwealth Immigrants in the London Borough of Ealing, 1961–1966', *Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers* 58 (1973), pp. 21–39, H. Aldrich, C. Zimmer and D. McEvoy, 'Continuities in the Study of Ecological Succession: Asian Businesses in Three English Cities', *Social Forces* 67 (1989), pp. 920–944 and T. Lee, *Race and Residence: The Concentration and Dispersal of Immigrants in London* (London, 1977). For Birmingham see Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City* and K. Ahmed, 'Birmingham: Local Initiatives to Associate Immigrants in the Integration Process', in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links* (Paris, 1998). For Bradford see J. Catex and T. P. Jones, 'Ethnic Residential Space: The Case of Asians in Bradford', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 70 (1979), pp. 86–97, C. Allen, *The Bradford Disturbances, the Sentencing and the Impact* (London, 2003) and J. Demaine, 'Racism, Ideology and Education: The Last Word on the Honeyford Affair?', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 14 (1993), pp. 409–414. For Berlin see H. Häussermann, 'The Integration of Immigrant Populations in Berlin', in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links* (Paris, 1998), J. Baumert and H. Köhler, 'Trends and Perspectives of Secondary Education in West Berlin', *European Journal of Education* 19 (1984), pp. 365–384 and J. Glowinski and H. Köhler, 'Zur Entwicklung der im Grundt und Hauptschulalter stehenden ausländischen Kinder in den Bezirken von Berlin (West)', *Berliner Statistik* 7 (1976), pp. 174–184. For Frankfurt see M. Borris, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer in einer Großstadt: eine Empirische Untersuchung am Beispiel Frankfurt* (Frankfurt, 1973) and U. Schoeneberg, 'Participation in Ethnic Associations: The Case

Furthermore, comparisons between cities have rarely been pursued and, in the few instances they have been, they have also tended to involve these same cities. The best example has been Boyes and Huneke's comparison between Turks in Berlin and Pakistanis in Bradford which, although a valuable contribution to the field, was nevertheless a comparison between two cities that had little more in common than their large immigrant communities.⁶⁵

In this thesis, however, the aim is to provide a comparative analysis of the Muslim immigrant communities of Newcastle and Bremen, two cities that share historical, economic, and social characteristics. Both cities acted as major European ports, Bremen being the second most important foreign trade location in Germany after Hamburg, and Newcastle being the third most important in England after London and Liverpool. Furthermore, both Newcastle and Bremen's economies were dominated by the primary sector and were involved in basic manufacturing. By means of strong contacts with their landed hinterlands, as well as through trade networks at regional, continental and international levels, both Bremen and Newcastle have not only been the origins of many goods, products, and services, but also the destination for immigrant populations attracted by their strong economic foundations. Whether it was the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim Commonwealth immigrants arriving to Newcastle independently or the Turkish guest-workers arriving to Bremen with temporary recruitment contracts, there is no doubt that the main pull factor in both cases was economic, followed by family reunification. In both cases, the process of integration has been interpreted by historians as being partially determined by Newcastle and Bremen's strong sense of regional identity, though whether these were a catalyst for integration or alienation has been debated.

Despite Newcastle and Bremen's common traits, this is not a comparative study that, like so many, seeks similarities, but rather one that acknowledges differences. In comparing two cities with similar characteristics, it reveals two very differing types and

of Immigrants in West Germany', *International Migration Review* 19 (1985), pp. 416–437. For Stuttgart see F. Geiger, 'Zur Konzentration von Gastarbeitern in alten Dorfkernen: Fallstudie aus dem Verdichtungsraum Stuttgart', *Geographische Rundschau* 27 (1975), pp. 61–71, E. Kolodny, *Les Étrangers à Stuttgart* (Paris, 1977) and H. Babel, 'The City of Stuttgart and Immigration: Policies and Experiences', in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links* (Paris, 1998).

⁶⁵ R. Boyes and D. Huneke, *Is it Easier to be a Turk in Berlin or a Pakistani in Bradford?* (London, 2004).

experiences of immigration. Amongst other things, this analysis highlights the difference between organic and artificial immigration, the long-term consequences of these two immigration systems at a local level, and the benefits and disadvantages of centralised and federal administrations. In doing so, it will allow the contextualisation of immigration within a wider European continental remit and a knowledge of governmental reaction to immigrant groups, two phenomena that would not lend themselves to such thorough investigation in a single nation study.

Although Newcastle is by no means a city that has been associated with large-scale immigration, it has nevertheless been welcoming foreigners since well before post-Second World War Commonwealth immigration and has gradually become home to a substantial Muslim immigrant population. Some scholars argue that Newcastle has historically had a very strong sense of regional identity and prides itself on being a welcoming host. In a work concerning people of Afro-Caribbean origin on Tyneside in the 1860s,⁶⁶ Todd reveals how, in 1863, two Confederates were told 'not to try it on in Newcastle where a Negro is treated as a man and a brother.'⁶⁷ Similarly, he quotes a journalist who in 1866, when comparing race relations on Tyneside with those in the USA at the time, said: 'Whatever may be the feeling of the people of America or elsewhere against colour, it is not participated in by our tars, who walk arm in arm with the coloured men.'⁶⁸ Byrne supports this notion of the North East having traditionally been a welcoming host by highlighting its long history as a place of immigration and that, if the notion of Englishness was founded on *ius sanguinis* instead of on *ius soli*, circa 40% of the North of England's population could find it difficult to qualify. He adds that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the North East was 'a wild west society, a frontier of immigration where people came because the wages were so high.'⁶⁹

Renton illustrates how the North East successfully integrated the Irish immigrants who settled in the early 1900s. He argues that this is proven in the fact that their descendants do not identify themselves as distinct. This was witnessed in the 2001 census in which only 0.67 per cent of them categorized themselves as "White Irish". The North

⁶⁶ N.Todd, 'Black-on-Tyne: The Black Presence on Tyneside in the 1860s', *North East Labour History Society* 21 (1987), pp. 17–27.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁶⁹ D. Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?', *Northern Review* 8 (Autumn 1999), p. 19.

East's hospitality is portrayed in the fact that the numbers of people describing themselves as Irish in London, Birmingham and Manchester were five times higher.⁷⁰ What Renton does not consider, however, is the fact that the Irish population in Newcastle, unlike those of London and Birmingham, came quickly in the industrial nineteenth century, rather than by a continuous stream. What he also fails to highlight in relation to this is the geographical and cultural alienation, which many Irish immigrants experienced on arriving on Tyneside - entire districts becoming Irish ghettos centered around Catholic churches.⁷¹

Furthermore, he illustrates how the North East's reputation of being a welcoming host to foreigners has traversed into the second half of the twentieth century. He reports how Philip Rawsthorne stated in 1958 that the North East was different from London in that 'it has never given the Moslems special favours nor treated them unfairly. They have received the attention given to all other citizens...'⁷² Similarly, he reveals how David Bean argued in 1962 that South Shields 'is a study in integration; a place where colour prejudice died years ago. You can see it best in the children; the way they stream out of school together like a human rainbow and play together on demolition sites oblivious to colour.'⁷³

However, despite this rosy regional rhetoric, Renton argues that this North Eastern identity of being a welcoming host is no more than an illusion. He states that 'in praising the mood of welcome that could be found in the North East, journalists in the mid-twentieth century were deliberately creating a 'myth'; a collective identity based as much on a desired reading of a peaceful future as on any coherent understanding of the past.'⁷⁴ Collins, author of perhaps the most famous work on South Shields' immigrant community, *Coloured Minorities in Britain*, does not portray the town as being a haven for race relations.⁷⁵ It appears as though much of the North East's reputation of being a

⁷⁰ D. Renton, 'Hostility or Welcome? Migration to the North East since 1945', *Paper in North Eastern History* 15 (2006), p. 33.

⁷¹ See R. Cooter, *When Paddy Met Geordie: The Irish in County Durham and Newcastle 1840-1880* (Sunderland, 2005).

⁷² Renton, 'Hostility or Welcome?', p. 3.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 33.

⁷⁵ S. Collins, *Coloured Minorities in Britain: Studies in British Race Relations Based on African, West Indian and Asiatic Immigrants* (London, 1957).

welcoming host is based purely on the individual case of South Shields. In an analysis of the history of immigration to this town, Carr concludes that South Shields' history suggests that the North East's identity has the character and flexibility to make the future of race relations in this region a 'decent one'.⁷⁶ However, he reaches this conclusion after having described in detail the town's race riots of 1919 and 1930,⁷⁷ two separate events that would certainly not have taken place in a "racial utopia".

Furthermore, during the post-Second World War years, the North East has witnessed various events and acquired characteristics that imply that its reputation of being a welcoming host is indeed a myth, as very well could be its entire sense of regional identity: the 1961 Cannon Street riots in Middlesbrough, the urge to identify oneself as either a Geordie or a Mackem, interregional rivalries both on and off the football pitch, and the initial intention of NEEHI (North East England Historical Institute) to provide the North East with a singular popular history, and its subsequent failure to do so, illustrates the breach between academic regional idealism as viewed from the ivory tower and popular localism as shouted from the terraces. This sense of localism and the rejection of the concept of "one North East" were further revealed by the repulsion of the North Eastern Assembly in 2005 and the superficiality of the one North East Campaign.

Furthermore, there is a problem with the manner in which historians have the tendency to refer to immigration to the "North East". It must be realized that this region's towns and cities have endured different experiences and histories. For example, it is difficult to comprehend how a town like South Shields that welcomed its first Arab seaman in the 1890s⁷⁸ and witnessed race riots in 1919 and again in 1930 can be approached in the same manner as the city of Newcastle, a city that did not experience Muslim immigration of any significance until after the 1960s. It is this association that this thesis will challenge, along with placing the North East's reputation of being a

⁷⁶ B. Carr, 'Black Geordies', in R. Colls and B. Lancaster (eds.), *Geordies: Roots of Regionalism* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 148.

⁷⁷ See R. Lawless, *From Ta'izz to Tyneside: An Arab Community in the North East of England During the Early Twentieth Century* (Exeter, 1995) and Renton, 'Hostility or Welcome?', pp. 8–10. For an account of the Yemeni community in South Shields as well as in other British cities from their time of settlement through the 1980s, see F. Halliday, *Arabs in Exile. Yemeni Migrants in Urban Britain* (London, 1992).

⁷⁸ See R. Lawless, *Teesside's Muslims: Their Migration Histories, Settlement Patterns and Community Development* (Cleveland, 1995), p. 4.

welcoming host in the context of post-1960 Muslim immigration into Newcastle. Furthermore, this ever-present debate surrounding the concept of the North East as a welcoming host that is so dominant in the historiography requires certain points to be addressed. It is necessary to ascertain, for example, whether this is a characteristic that has been witnessed in post-Second World War Newcastle in relation to Muslim immigration, whether it has resulted in Newcastle's local authority approaching immigration differently from other local governments and whether Newcastle adheres to overarching national traits to the same extent other British cities do or, to the contrary, whether this ideology and regional identity is no more than rose-tinted nostalgia. Indeed, what slowly emerges throughout the following chapters is that Newcastle's local authority has historically been subjugated to the very same national overarching policies as local governments throughout Britain, with or without regional identity.

It is impossible to address Newcastle's post-Second World War Muslim immigrant community without mentioning two mid-1960s studies that deal with the city's Asian community. These are Taylor's study of the education and employment of the city's Asian youths, and Davies' work on immigrant housing in Newcastle's West End.⁷⁹ The combination of these two works provides an insight into how Newcastle's immigrants performed in the sectors of employment, housing and education through the mid to late 1960s. These two studies form the basis of all three of the key chapters in this thesis and are not only of interest because they are the unchallenged authority on the subject, but also because they question the conclusions reached by national and regional works that are considered to be the established school of thought.

The historiography addressing employment has continuously highlighted the discrimination suffered by immigrants in this sector. Hepple argues that immigrants in Britain suffer a greater unemployment than the indigenous population; Smith notes that immigrants are concentrated in the manufacturing sector and Desai concludes that Indian immigrants endure segregation at the workplace.⁸⁰ On a local level, similar conclusions were reached with Bayliss and Coates deducing that immigrants in Nottingham are highly

⁷⁹ J. Taylor, *The Half-way Generation. A Study of Asian Youths in Newcastle upon Tyne* (Windsor, 1976) and J. Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat. A Study of a Planning Exercise in Newcastle upon Tyne* (London, 1972).

⁸⁰ B. Hepple, *Race, Jobs and the Law in Britain* (London, 1968), pp. 56–57, D. Smith, *Racial Disadvantage in Britain* (Harmondsworth, 1977) and R. Desai, *Indian Immigrants in Britain* (London, 1963), p. 85.

concentrated in unskilled jobs, and Rex and Tomlinson speaking of vast unemployment amongst immigrant youths in Birmingham.⁸¹ Works addressing the conditions of Britain's immigrants in the housing sector have displayed similar conclusions. Peach, Shah and Henderson have deduced that the private competitive housing system disadvantages ethnic minorities; Parker, Dugmore and Skellington argue that immigrants are less likely to have access to housing, and Rex and Moore conclude that Birmingham's immigrant community has become segregated in poor-quality housing due to discrimination on behalf of the local authority.⁸²

The historiography shows that British immigrants fare no better in the education sector. Troyna and Mac an Ghaill argue that there is a lack of integration amongst pupils in the classroom, Little concludes that there is a consistent educational underachievement amongst British Asians and Taylor believes that the British multicultural education system has made little progress in succeeding to incorporate these immigrant pupils more successfully and improving their educational performances.⁸³ According to the literature, it has undoubtedly been the Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Britain that have endured the most hardships in the employment, housing and education sectors.⁸⁴ Furthermore, this ethnic minority group has also become concentrated in the larger British cities, such as London and Birmingham, instead of settling in the smaller urban centres.⁸⁵ Indian,

⁸¹ F. Bayliss and J. Coates, 'West Indians at Work in Nottingham', *Race* 7 (1965), p. 157 and Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, p. 126.

⁸² C. Peach and S. Shah, 'The Contribution of Council House Allocation to West Indian Desegregation in London 1961-71', *Urban Studies* 17 (1980), pp. 333-342, J. Henderson, V. Karn and B. Brown, *Improving the Opportunities of Racial Minorities in Council Housing*, Unpublished Report, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (Birmingham, 1981), J. Parker and K. Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, Research Report 21, Greater London Council (London, 1976), R. Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose out in Council Housing', *New Society* (1981) and Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*.

⁸³ B. Troyna, 'Race and Streaming: A Case Study', *Educational Review* 30 (1978), pp. 59-65, M. Mac an Ghaill, *Young, Gifted and Black* (Milton Keynes, 1988), A. Little, 'The Educational Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in London Schools', in G. Verma and C. Bagley (eds.), *Race and Education Across Cultures* (London, 1975), pp. 48-69 and M. Taylor, *Caught Between: Review of Research into the Education of Pupils of West Indian Origin* (Slough, 1981).

⁸⁴ See C. Harris, 'Post-war Migration and the Industrial Reserve Army', in W. James and C. Harris (eds.), *Inside Babylon. The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain* (London, 1993), pp. 9-54, C. Peach, *West Indian Migration to Britain. A Social Geography* (London, 1968), D. Hinds, *Journey to an Illusion: The West Indian in Britain* (London, 1966) and P. Foster, 'Teachers Attitudes and Afro/Caribbean Educational Attainment', *Oxford Review of Education* 18 (1992), pp. 269-281.

⁸⁵ See Peach, *West Indian Migration to Britain*, p. 96, K. FitzHerbert, 'West Indian Children in London', *Occasional Papers on Social Administration* 19 (London, 1967), C. Peach, 'Immigrants in the Inner City', *The Geographical Journal* 141 (1975), pp. 372-379 and A. Craven, *West Africans in London* (London, 1969).

Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants in Britain and Turkish immigrants in Germany have, to the contrary, become distributed throughout their two adopted countries.

However, no matter how bleak a picture these works paint and how overarching these traits appear to be, they contradict sharply with the conclusions reached by both Davies and Taylor concerning the Asian population of Newcastle during the mid to late 1960s. Could it be that the North East's reputation of being a welcoming host has indeed played a role in the experiences of post-Second World War Commonwealth Muslim immigrants in Newcastle? Does this mean that Newcastle's immigrant community has been exempt from national patterns where other major British cities have not been? Or did Davies and Taylor's conclusions merely apply during the 1960s and are no longer valid? It is with this historiography's portrayal of a strong sense of regional identity and Newcastle's immigrants' relative success in the employment, housing and education sectors, defying national trends in mind, that this thesis is written.

Despite Newcastle being the capital of the "North East" and home to a well-established and substantially large Muslim immigrant community, no in-depth research has been completed since that of Davies and Taylor. Forty years later, after the Race Relations Act 1976, the Brixton riots, the Stephen Lawrence inquiry, the Bradford riots, and the politicization of asylum, the richness of historical events is not reflected in the historiography, causing the need for a revaluation of immigration to this North Eastern British city within both a national and European context. What emerges throughout this thesis is that, if not regional patriotism, then other factors contribute to the daily experiences of Muslim immigrants in Newcastle. These will be thoroughly probed by means of the comparative analysis that allows for an even closer investigation.

Whilst the historiography suggests that both Newcastle's regional identity and position as a welcoming host are questionable, Bremen's regional identity appears to be more entrenched. Furthermore, there is little doubt that this regional patriotism has acted as a catalyst for jingoism and xenophobia. Buse highlights the public expressions of anti-Semitism that were widespread in Bremen in the 1840s and explains how the city feared losing its identity. If a non-Christian were elected to the *Bürgerschaft*, for example, he

could eventually influence cultural and educational policies.⁸⁶ In a later work, Buse again draws attention to Bremen's localist outlook during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and refers to its people as stubborn, reserved, and suspicious of strangers.⁸⁷ Bremen's urge to grasp onto some form of regional identity may very well have been the result of being a port city. As is argued by Lee, 'a key feature of the demographic development of major port cities in nineteenth-century Europe was a disproportionate dependency on in-migration.'⁸⁸ Marschalck highlights the fact that this pattern was witnessed particularly in Bremen where 53% of the city's population increase between 1812 and 1914 was due to in-migration.⁸⁹ Between 1812 and 1862, Bremen's population rose from 35,000 to 66,500 and, by 1905, foreigners constituted 46% of the city's population, the majority of whom were Poles, Bohemians, Croats and Ruthenians.⁹⁰ Barfuss adds that at the turn of the nineteenth century, the proportion of foreign-language speaking inhabitants in some of the city's outer districts was around one third.⁹¹

Despite the fact that Bremen has indeed been experiencing in-migration since the mid-nineteenth century, historical literature has tended to focus on its role as an emigration port.⁹² Bremen's history of immigration is very much overshadowed by its history of emigration, in a similar way to the manner in which Newcastle's history of immigration is marred by the experiences and reputation of South Shields. The ports of Bremen and Bremerhaven were, for many Europeans, the last places they experienced the

⁸⁶ D. Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen', in K. Kwiet (ed.), *From Emancipation to the Holocaust. Essays on Jewish Literature and History in Central Europe* (University of New South Wales, 1987), p. 5.

⁸⁷ D. Buse, 'Urban and National Identity: Bremen, 1860-1920', *Journal of Social History* 26 (1993), p. 524.

⁸⁸ R. Lee, 'The Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics of Port Cities: A Typology for Comparative Analysis?', *Urban History* 25 (1998), p. 156.

⁸⁹ P. Marschalck, 'Zur Bevölkerungsentwicklung Bremens im 19. Jahrhundert', in R. Lawton and R. Lee (eds.), *Population and Society in Western European Port Cities, c. 1650-1939* (Liverpool, 2001), pp. 270-304.

⁹⁰ See R. Lee, 'Urban Labor Markets, In-Migration, and Demographic Growth: Bremen, 1815-1914', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 30 (1999), p. 442 and K. Barfuss, 'Foreign Workers In and Around Bremen, 1884-1918', in D. Hoerder and J. Nagler (eds.), *People in Transit. German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 201.

⁹¹ Barfuss, 'Foreign Workers in and around Bremen', p. 201.

⁹² See P. Marschalck, *Inventar der Quellen zur Geschichte der Wanderung, besonders der Auswanderung, in Bremer Archiven* (Bremen, 1986), A. Armgort, *Bremen, Bremerhaven, New York: Geschichte der europäischen Auswanderung über die Bremischen Häfen* (Bremen, 1991) and D. Hoerder and D. Knauf, *Fame, Fortune and Sweet Liberty: The Great European Emigration* (Bremen, 1992).

Old World. The first and only in-depth study of pre-First World War immigration to Bremen did not emerge until 1986 despite the aforementioned vast number of foreigners who settled in the city during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹³ It is astonishing that there has been such a lack of historiography, as Bremen was recruiting foreign labour already in the 1880s. Barfuss argues how, during this period, there was a psychological resistance to industrial work amongst Bremen's indigenous population and, as a result, the expansion of enterprises outstripped the ability of the local labour market to meet the demand.⁹⁴ He also provides a description of the conditions endured by these early immigrant labourers and the similarities between these and those encountered by the city's guest-workers during the 1960s and 1970s: they arrived predominantly as single individuals, they received much lower wages than their German counterparts and they lived in company housing referred to as "barracks".⁹⁵

As is demonstrated by Buse, Bremen's strong regional patriotism continued after the Second World War. He argues that this is portrayed in the city's arguments deployed to attain independent political status as a land after 1945, in the fact that the war had caused people to question who a *Bremer* was, and the fears surrounding the influx of foreigners in the immediate postwar era.⁹⁶ This fear of foreigners and the city's aspiration to possess a strong regional identity is illustrated in the famous saying '...strictly one cannot become a Bremer. One is Bremer [or not]'⁹⁷ and in the motto that hung over one of the city's gates until the Second World War bombing that read: 'Bremen be cautious and do not let more enter than you can master.'⁹⁸ It is with these early encounters with foreign labour in mind and this regional identity that the experiences of Muslim guest-workers and immigrants in post-Second World War Bremen will be analyzed. Contrary to what might be assumed, despite these claims of regional patriotism, Muslim immigrants in Bremen have often far exceeded the standards detailed in the historiography pertaining to Germany.

⁹³ K. Barfuss, *"Gastarbeiter" in Nordwestdeutschland, 1884–1918* (Bremen, 1986).

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 28–35.

⁹⁵ Barfuss, 'Foreign Workers in and around Bremen', p. 217.

⁹⁶ D. Buse, 'Federalism and Identity. Bremen, 1945–1960s', *Debatte* 10 (2002), pp. 34–36.

⁹⁷ See H. Gutmann, *Bremen Bremerhaven* (Munich, 1994), p. 9.

⁹⁸ Buse, 'Federalism and Identity', p. 35.

The historical literature is not extensive, and there are no works that have focused on the integration of immigrants to Bremen in the postwar years to the same extent as the studies of Davies and Taylor in relation to Newcastle. There are, however, three studies that merit mention. In his work on refugees who arrived in Bremen primarily during the late 1940s and 1950s, Weiher provides a detailed account of how the city chose to admit only economically useful workers who were ethnic German expellees. He also draws upon the political, economic and social problems that these refugees and expellees faced in their new environment.⁹⁹ Although this study does not address the situation of Muslim guest-workers and immigrants, it nevertheless sheds light on the fact that Bremen still had a strong sense of regional identity and a localist outlook during the postwar years as previous works and periods in history had proven to be the case. However, with regards to Newcastle, this regional patriotism takes a back seat as other factors play more of a role.

The only in-depth account of Bremen's guest-worker rotation system is provided in a recent work by Dünzelmann.¹⁰⁰ Here, Dünzelmann provides a detailed account of how guest-workers were recruited for employment in Bremen by individual companies, of family reunification and their political participation. She also supplies a history of their accommodation in Bremen, from the barracks of shipbuilding companies, such as AG Weser, to their segregation in certain districts of the city during the late 1970s and 1980s.¹⁰¹ The third work is also by Dünzelmann. It is a catalogue of primary documents held by archives in Bremen that address the city's immigrant population. These concern employment, housing, education, religion, integration and racism. Those dealing with Muslim immigrants have been used in the completion of this thesis. There is little doubt that these three works have made a valuable contribution to a historiography that otherwise appears to have been overshadowed by Bremen's role as a port of emigration. However, not even Dünzelmann's study assesses the overall integration of the city's immigrants and only addresses the sector of housing, not those of employment and education. Furthermore, her work focuses on all guest-workers, those from Turkey as

⁹⁹ U. Weiher, *Flüchtlingssituation und Flüchtlingspolitik. Untersuchungen zur Eingliederung der Flüchtlinge in Bremen 1945–1961* (Bremen, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ A. Dünzelmann, *Aneignung und Selbstbehauptung: Zum Prozess der Integration und Akkulturation von "GastarbeiterInnen" in Bremen* (Göttingen, 2005).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–54.

well as those from neighboring European nations. Despite her research studying the guest-workers collectively, this segment of German society cannot be seen as a homogenous group. Turkish guest-workers had not only a separate religion, but also vastly differing experiences of German society due to their visible, cultural and social isolation.

This research project acknowledges these shortcomings and attempts to rectify them. Overall, it aims to determine whether Bremen, a city with a history of regional patriotism, a localist outlook and, unlike Newcastle, of not having such a strong sense of local camaraderie, has a post-Second World War history of immigration that has developed differently from that of other major cities in Germany. This question is particularly pertinent due to the recent announcement in July 2007 at the National Immigration Summit that Bremen would act as a template for a national strategy of immigrant integration. Bremen, a city with a strong regional identity and burgeoning immigrant population, has been held up as an example of Angela Merkel's new "Germany of integration". Unlike Britain, Germany is a federal republic, which has allowed Bremen to adopt a locally orientated policy towards its immigrants that has now been suggested as a prototype for national policy. What emerges is the importance, not so much of Bremen's strong regional patriotism, but instead of the in-built flexibility that federalism allows. As will be shown, however, this federalism can, in some cases, hinder integration due to its lack of accountability to national policy and weakness to local jingoism. This thesis will, therefore, have historical poignancy and current relevance.

Historical literature concerning Germany as a whole has concluded that immigrants suffer discrimination in employment, housing and education. In the employment sector, scholars have deduced that it has proved difficult to incorporate immigrants into local labour markets, immigrants suffer from higher levels of unemployment and that Turkish youth, in particular, have experienced high rates of exclusion from job training.¹⁰² When addressing the housing sector, it has been

¹⁰² See S. Castles, *Here for Good – Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities* (London, 1984), C. Wilpert, 'Work and the Second Generation: The Descendants of Migrant Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany', in C. Wilpert (ed.), *Entering the Working World: Following the Descendants of Europe's Immigrant Labour Force* (Aldershot, 1989), pp. 111-149, L. Limage, 'Economic Recession and Migrant/Minority Youth in Western Europe and the United States', *International Migration* 25 (1987), pp. 399-413, T. Faist, 'From School to Work: Public Policy and Underclass Formation Among Young Turks in

established that, in relation to public housing, admission officers are often prejudiced and are not prepared to offer housing to immigrant families. Furthermore, ethnic minorities often live in cheap and run-down inner-city areas and often “conquer” a certain district of the city, as it is only within this geographical remit that they feel comfortable expressing their religious and cultural traditions.¹⁰³ The conclusions reached concerning the education sector have not proven to be dissimilar. Rist argues that the very nature of Germany’s state school system is undemocratic. Hill believes that official statements published by either the national or local governments ignore the needs of foreign children, and there is a clear segregation in classrooms and school buildings between immigrant children and their indigenous counterparts.¹⁰⁴ However, as will be established, Bremen diverts from this literature in that immigrant children perform better academically than those in other German states.

Whilst the historiography addressing Muslim immigrants in Britain and Germany is extensive, that concentrating on Newcastle and Bremen is not, despite these two cities having experienced immigration for as long as their respective nations. The historical literature that does exist would have one believe that Newcastle is a welcoming host to immigrant communities whilst Bremen is much more xenophobic. However, in order to assess this statement’s validity, it is necessary to combine this theory with the immigrants’ experiences in the employment, housing and education sectors, the politics of Germany’s federal government versus Britain’s central government, and the philosophies behind the Commonwealth immigrants who arrived in Newcastle and the guest-workers who arrived in Bremen.

Germany During the 1980s’, *International Migration Review* 27 (1993), pp. 306–331 and European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, *The Vocational Training of Young Migrants in Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom* (Berlin, 1986).

¹⁰³ See U. Keßler and A. Ross, ‘Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt’, *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* 7/8 (1991), pp. 429–438, A. Geiger, ‘Ausländer im Ghetto: eine mißglückte Integration’, in U. Herlyn (ed.), *Stadt- und Sozialstruktur* (Munich, 1974), pp. 163–166, P. Ehrkamp, ‘Placing Identities: Transnational Practices and Local Attachments of Turkish Immigrants in Germany’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (2005), pp. 345–364 and R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas. An Introduction*. (Seattle, 1997).

¹⁰⁴ R. Rist, ‘Education and Marginality: The Situation of the Guestworkers in Germany’, *Interchange on Educational Policy* 12 (1981), p. 251, A. Hill, ‘Democratic Education in West Germany: The Effects of the New Minorities’, *Comparative Education Review* 31 (1987), p. 273 and E. Renner, *Erziehungs- und Sozialisationsbedingungen türkischer Kinder. Ein Vergleich zwischen Deutschland und der Türkei* (Rheinstetten, 1975).

An additional dimension to this study is its comparative nature. The historiography has repeatedly preached the benefits of comparative history. Amongst other factors, it promotes a deeper understanding of specific cases and allows for a more in-depth analysis of national trends and uniqueness.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, historical comparisons between Britain and Germany have been both in abundance and notable, and have addressed topics, such as religion, labour and trade unions.¹⁰⁶ More recently, works have included comparisons of welfare, political parties and the most prevailing have arguably been those concerning immigration and race relations.¹⁰⁷ It is in consideration of these other comparative works at both national and local levels that this thesis has evolved. Breuilly correctly asserts that a comparison 'which begins by regarding one particular case as the norm against which comparisons are made with other cases is flawed from the outset.'¹⁰⁸ It is precisely this temptation that this thesis seeks to avoid. What the following chapters convey is not only a comparison between the Muslim immigrant populations of Newcastle and Bremen, but also a multi-lateral comparison between both immigrant communities and their indigenous counterparts. It aims to be an impartial and unbiased study by showing that non-conformity by the immigrant population does not necessarily equate to non-integration.

Moreover, this study illustrates how national historical roots of racist practices cannot be simply reduced to ideological phenomena. Rather, it must be recognized how they have been conditioned, and perhaps even determined, by historical developments. Regarding Britain, this takes the form of colonial societies, which were essential to the

¹⁰⁵ See J. Breuilly, *Labour and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Essays in Comparative History* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 1-5, F. Castles, 'Puzzles of Political Economy', in F. Castles (ed.), *The Comparative History of Public Policy* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 3-4 and M. Hroch, *Comparative Studies in Modern European History: Nation, Nationalism, Social Change* (Aldershot, 2007).

¹⁰⁶ See H. McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1970* (Oxford, 1981), H. McLeod, 'Church and Class. Some International Comparisons', in J. Kocka (ed.), *Arbeiter und Bürger im 19. Jahrhundert: Varianten ihres Verhältnisses im europäischen Vergleich* (Munich, 1986), pp. 261-186 and C. Eisenberg, *Deutsche und englische Gewerkschaften. Entstehung und Entwicklung bis 1878 im Vergleich* (Göttingen, 1986).

¹⁰⁷ See F. McGinnity, *Who Benefits? A Comparison of Welfare and Outcomes for the Unemployed in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 2001), R. Hrbek, *Political Parties and Federalism: An International Comparison* (Baden-Baden, 2004), C. Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-State*, H. Booth, *The Migration Process in Britain and West Germany*, R. Boyes and D. Huneke, *Is it Easier to be a Turk in Berlin or a Pakistani in Bradford?* (London, 2004) and K. Schönwälder, *Einwanderung und ethnische Pluralität. Politische Entscheidungen und öffentliche Debatten in Großbritannien und der Bundesrepublik von den 1950er bis zu den 1970er* (Essen, 2001).

¹⁰⁸ Breuilly, *Labour and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, p. 1.

British imperial project. In relation to Germany, the cultural trends that have historically opted towards the existence of “the other” and social exclusion have played a large role. It is this comparative nature that will permit a more detailed analysis of each country’s immigration history and its long-term consequences at a grassroots level, features that a single nation study would not allow to such a degree of detail. Both processes generated a specific type of nationalism in British and German social classes long before the concept of immigration became a key feature on both nations’ political agendas. It is the agglomeration of all these factors that will determine whether or not the identities of both Newcastle and Bremen are as pertinent as scholars such as Todd and Buse would have one believe. Alternatively, when touching upon a topic as controversial and with as much political weight as immigration, these two cities might merely become microcosms of their respective nations. What will be assessed is whether Newcastle and Bremen adhere to or diverge from Britain and Germany’s immigration patterns and practices.

“Foreigners” Amongst the Folios.

This thesis draws upon a range of sources in order to establish its conclusions. The most important are the primary documents held in a variety of archives in both Britain and Germany. These are Tyne & Wear Archives Service, the National Archives, the West Newcastle Local Studies and Picture Collection at Benwell Library, Staatsarchiv Bremen (State Archive of Bremen), the Statistisches Landesamt Bremen (Statistical Land Office of Bremen), the Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek (City Parliament Library of Bremen) and the Senator für das Bauwesen Archiv (Archive of the Government Department of Housing). For Newcastle, the vast majority of the primary documents used are from Tyne & Wear Archives Service. These consist mainly of statistics, reports and surveys conducted by the City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee and the Commonwealth Immigrants Working Group into the employment, housing and education of the city’s ethnic minorities. The documents used from the National Archives deal primarily with immigration on a national level and are, therefore, used to provide background information. The West Newcastle Local Studies and Picture Collection at Benwell

Library is an account of Newcastle's West End's immigrant community. Much of the information is in picture form and the majority of the photographs throughout this thesis originate from this collection. There are, however, some primary accounts that also stem from this source.

In relation to Bremen, the Staatsarchiv provides the majority of primary documents consulted in this thesis. These address all three sectors of employment, housing and education and include reports and dossiers that provide a history of guest-workers into Bremen from the viewpoint of both the policy makers and the Turkish immigrants. The Statistisches Landesamt Bremen provides monthly governmental reports available from the early 1980s that include vital statistics concerning Bremen's immigrant community. The Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek holds minutes and descriptions of policies that shed light on the government's position in relation to the city's immigrant community. Lastly, the Senator für das Bauwesen Archiv gives an insight into the housing conditions of guest-workers who were recruited by the shipbuilding company, AG Weser, during the early 1970s.

However, no matter how many archives and primary documents are consulted, there will always remain shortcomings in primary source material. In relation to Newcastle, the first concern is the fact that, before the 1990s, the term "black" was used to refer to all non-whites in Britain, regardless of their nationality, religion or colour. As this generalization runs through primary documents, it often means that it is impossible to know for certain of what origin the immigrants are. An example of this is the Household Survey of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1986, which simply divides the participants into "black" and "indigenous".¹⁰⁹ For the purpose of this thesis, however, it is assumed that the majority of these immigrants in question are indeed Muslims from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. This assumption is made, firstly, because immigrants from these three nations have historically constituted the majority of the city's immigrant population. Secondly, the large number of immigrants from Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origins is reflected in the primary documents. These show that, during the late 1960s, Newcastle was home to a Commonwealth Immigrants Working Group, whose purpose it was to

¹⁰⁹ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, 18 September 1985–15 July 1987, Household Survey of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1986, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

assist these immigrants with their lives in this North Eastern city.¹¹⁰ This concentration on immigrants from these three countries continues throughout the 1980s with the Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee.¹¹¹

Despite Newcastle's visible Chinese community and the well-established Chinatown, there appears to have historically been a lack of initiatives on behalf of the city's local authority to incorporate this ethnic group into the local society. The primary documents address primarily Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants and, although sometimes the Chinese community is mentioned in passing, their integration does not appear to have been considered as a separate entity. In fact, the archival documents do not even disclose when the Chinese immigrant community established itself in the city. Similarly, the Chinese also seem to have been disregarded by the historiography. Whilst works on Newcastle's New Commonwealth immigrants are few and far between, those on the Chinese community are non-existent, with a recent study of Newcastle's Chinese university students being one of very few works.¹¹² This could be because Newcastle City Council has traditionally believed that the Chinese do not require assistance with integration, because their ethnic community is much smaller in size and, therefore, is not deemed to not be of the same importance, or simply that they have been forgotten as they have always been perceived as a community apart. Either way, it is safe to assume that the Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee, a group that by name would be expected to focus on all of Newcastle's immigrant groups, is in fact primarily addressing those of an Indian, Pakistan and Bangladeshi origin.

A similar problem occurs with the term "Muslim". Immigrants are not separated into smaller groups according to religion and, in no instance, are their religious beliefs and traditions asked for. Therefore, whether a primary document concerning Newcastle's immigrants refers either to blacks or to immigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh,

¹¹⁰ Commonwealth Immigrants Working Group of Planning Committee, 19 September 1966–6 May 1968, MD.NC/149, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

¹¹¹ See Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, 18 March 1983–17 July 1985, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service, Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, 18 September 1985–15 July 1987, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service and Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, 6 August 1987–16 March 1988, MD.NC/162/3, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

¹¹² See J. Hewitt, 'Toon and Gown: The Perceptions of Chinese Students in Newcastle', *Northern Review* 11 (2002), pp. 52–62.

in both cases it cannot be stated with certainty that these are Muslim immigrants in question. However, the "Islamisation" of the West End of Newcastle is proof that the vast majority of them are. Certain districts have been pebble-dashed with mosques, Halal food shops, Muslim community centres and prayer groups, and women wearing the *hijab*.

Newcastle's primary documents suffer a further drawback due to the fact that there is no material available for the 1970s in either the employment, housing or education sector. This is because the Commonwealth Immigrants Working Group was dissolved at the end of the 1960s and the Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee was not founded until the early 1980s. This means that, during the 1970s, there was not a government-appointed body that was in charge of assessing the overall position of the city's immigrants and the surrounding local society. One possible explanation for this is the controversy that surrounded Chris Mullard's time as head of Newcastle's Community Relations Council between 1970 and 1973. Mullard, a black social and political activist of both an English and Caribbean background, attempted to expose and combat the institutionalized racism that was present within Newcastle City Council.¹¹³ It is likely that after Mullard's departure, a closed lid was kept on issues of race and immigration. Therefore, there is a gap of approximately ten years in recounting the history of each sector.

Similar problems are encountered with the primary documents concerning Bremen. In the same manner as is the case with Newcastle, religion does not play a role in the material addressing immigrants in Bremen. Therefore, it is impossible to know whether all the Turkish immigrants being considered are indeed Muslim. The archival documents are, however, more specific than those of Newcastle because they have historically had the tendency to refer specifically to Turks as a separate entity, instead of mixing them with immigrants of other origins in a category termed "black". It can be assumed that this distinction has traditionally been made because immigrants from Turkey have always been seen as a "different type" of immigrant by Germany's indigenous population: they were non-Europeans, darker in skin colour, were non-Christians and, instead of returning to the homeland like guest-workers from countries like Spain, Italy and Greece, a large proportion of them remained in Germany and

¹¹³ See C. Mullard, *Black Britain* (London, 1973), pp. 98-111.

commenced the process of family reunification. As a result, a large proportion of the primary documents used in the following chapters address Turkish immigrants as a separate group different from all other ethnic minorities.

As well as these primary documents, this thesis also draws upon a number of well-known historical and sociological studies, most of which have been previously mentioned and some of which have become known as leading authorities. In order to ascertain the extent to which Muslim immigrants have become integrated into their adopted societies of Newcastle and Bremen, it is necessary to compare their situations with the precedents offered by scholars such as Hansen, Rex and Moore, Herbert, and Joppke. The third and last type of source used in this thesis is oral history. A series of interviews has been conducted amongst members of both Newcastle's and Bremen's Muslim immigrant communities. Several problems were encountered, however, when conducting these interviews. Firstly, there was a great suspicion amongst the Muslim immigrant communities in both cities about exactly what the aim of this research project was. All of the women asked, except one, refused to partake in the interviews, claiming that, if they did, their husbands and brothers would be angry at them because they would have betrayed their community by doing so. A small number of men in both cities finally agreed to take part on the condition that the interviews were not recorded and they would be able to remain anonymous. It is true that, overall, oral history must be treated with caution because, even more so than other types of history, it is open to interpretation rather than based on facts. In this case, however, the interviewees had a positive impact on the research because they enabled the contextualization of national and local political initiatives within a local, social, and cultural context.

Overall, despite the chronological gaps in the primary research and the fact that immigrants in neither Newcastle or Bremen are divided by religion in governmental material, the sources used portray an adequate and in-depth comparative history of how Muslim immigrants have performed in the employment, housing and education sectors of each city. By means of an agglomeration of these sources, this research project hopes to determine whether two cities with supposed strong and proud regional identities - one having been the recipient of Commonwealth immigrants and the other the recipient of guest-workers - have given into national dictate or whether regional patriotism has

warded off central intervention. This is, therefore, a study of, not only two cities or even two immigrant populations, but of individual experiences, and how these fit into a broader regional, national, and international context. What this study proposes is, as Gilroy deems necessary, an analysis of race relations in a post-industrial era that addresses immigration and settlement combined with 'spatial segregation along economic and cultural lines.'¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ P. Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London, 2002), p. xviii.

Chapter 2: The Employment Sector

Introduction: The Commonwealth Immigrant vs. the *Gastarbeiter*.

The historiography has only recently recognised a distinction between wanted temporary-, wanted settler- and unwanted migration.¹¹⁵ During the 1950s and 1960s, Germany welcomed immigration through guest-worker programs. However, by the 1970s, this wanted temporary migration changed into unwanted migration. It was soon understood that the “guests” were not returning “home”, but were instead sending for their families. As the Swiss novelist Max Frisch wrote, Germany recruited workers, but instead got human beings.¹¹⁶ In contrast, post-war Commonwealth immigration into Britain has been entirely unwanted.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, as Hansen states, ‘the extent and rapidity of the UK’s transformation from a largely homogeneous society into a multicultural society is remarkable, unprecedented and complete.’¹¹⁸ Evans goes beyond other accounts and remarks that ‘the British are said to have acquired their coloured immigrants, like their Empire, in a fit of absent-mindedness.’¹¹⁹

It is the difference between Britain’s relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy and Germany’s guest-worker rotation system, and the thinking that they induced, that form the basis of this chapter. Britain’s colonial history gave way to a “free market” in which immigrants arrived with socio-economic aspirations, and the intention to settle for the long-term. Germany’s experience, to the contrary, has been based on a state-organised, yet privately negotiated, economic immigration, one that resulted from temporary contracts between companies and labour migrants as a result of the post-war economic miracle. The effects that these two systems had on Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen will be discussed in this chapter, as will how each case compares to its respective nation’s established historiography, and to each other.

¹¹⁵ See Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*, pp. 19-21.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in K. Lefringhausen, ‘Wirtschaftsethische Aspekte für lokale Aktionen’, in R. Leudesdorff and H. Zillesen (eds.), *Gastarbeiter – Mitbürger* (Gelnhausen, 1971), p. 192.

¹¹⁷ See Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, p. 4, D. Studlar, ‘British Public Opinion, Colour Issues, and Enoch Powell: A Longitudinal Analysis’, *British Journal of Political Science* 4 (1978), pp. 371–381 and Y. Alibhai-Brown, *True Colours: Attitudes to Multiculturalism and the Role of the Government* (London, 1999).

¹¹⁸ Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, p. 4.

¹¹⁹ P. Evans, ‘Immigration: British-Style’, *Transition* 40 (1971), p. 42.

The Commonwealth could be seen to have been beneficial for Britain in allowing the integration of immigrants into the nation's labour market. Many of these immigrants had a knowledge of the English language, were familiar with British history, and a large proportion had experienced the colono-British education system.¹²⁰ Turkish immigrants arriving in post-war Germany did not have this advantage, having little knowledge of German history, culture, and the language, and being employed by geographically restrictive employment contracts.

Regardless of the different methods by which Muslim immigrants arrived in Britain and Germany, the historiography leaves little room for doubting that, in both nations, they have traditionally suffered discrimination and inequalities in the employment sectors. The historical literature concerning the relationship between immigrants and the employment sectors of both Britain and Germany is extensive, and concludes that immigrants often suffer from higher rates of unemployment and are concentrated in unskilled jobs.¹²¹ Although these hardships have occurred, historians have done little to establish the effect that these have had on the immigrants' overall levels of integration. Studies of immigration to both nations have accentuated that Muslim immigration was primarily the result of economic factors.¹²² The push factors were economic, as were the pull factors: Muslim immigrants who initially arrived in these nations during the post-war years did so as a result of poor economic conditions in their home countries and the fact that Britain and Germany required additional labour than their indigenous workforces could supply.

There are additional shortcomings in the existing historiography as studies have tended to focus on the attainment of financial capital as the sole determinant of an

¹²⁰ See Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, p. 9.

¹²¹ For Britain see Hepple, *Race, Jobs and the Law in Britain*, Smith, *Racial Disadvantage in Britain*, Desai, *Indian Immigrants in Britain*, Bayliss and Coates, 'West Indians at Work in Nottingham' and Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*. For Germany see Castles, *Here for Good*, Wilpert, 'Work and the Second Generation', Limage, 'Economic Recession and Migrant/Minority Youth', Faist, 'From School to Work' and European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, *The Vocational Training of Young Migrants*.

¹²² See Booth, *The Migration Process in Britain and West Germany*, p. 15, L. Lindsey, 'The Split-Labour Phenomenon: Its Impact on West Indian Workers as a Marginal Working Class in Birmingham, England, 1948-1962', *The Journal of Negro History* 78 (1993), p. 85 and Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, pp. 193-254.

individual's economic success.¹²³ There are, however, further factors that one must consider, such as the opportunities immigrants were offered, the extent to which the second generation either adhered to or departed from the employment patterns of their parents, the distribution of Muslim immigrants amongst the varying economic sectors and the level of entrepreneurship, all of which will be considered in this chapter. The second shortcoming applies solely to Britain. Up until the 1990s, the term "black" was used by both the national government and local authorities to refer to all non-whites, regardless of nationality, religion or colour.¹²⁴ As is emphasised by Brown, Gay and Modood, this characteristic was a consequence of the belief that white employers treated all non-whites in the same manner.¹²⁵ This is evident in a proportion of the primary material issued by Newcastle City Council that is used in this chapter.¹²⁶

This division of immigrants into ethnic groups occurred earlier in Germany. Studies concerning the employment of the country's Turkish immigrants were already emerging during the early 1970s.¹²⁷ This is undoubtedly due to the fact that Turkish immigrants in Germany have historically been seen as different to immigrants from other

¹²³ For Britain see B. Bell, 'The Performance of Immigrants in the United Kingdom: Evidence from the GHS', *The Economic Journal* 107 (1997), pp. 333-344, B. Chiswick, 'The Earnings of White and Coloured Male Immigrants in Britain', *Economica* 47 (1980), pp. 81-87 and D. Blackaby, K. Clark, D. Leslie and P. Murphy, 'Black-White Male Earnings and Employment Prospects in the 1970s and 1980s: Evidence for Britain', *Economic Letters* 46 (1994), pp. 273-280. For Germany see N. Granato and F. Kalter, 'Die Persistenz ethnischer Ungleichheit auf dem Deutschen Arbeitsmarkt. Diskriminierung oder Unterinvestition in Humankapital?', *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 53 (2001), pp. 497-520 and A. Münscher, 'The Workday Routines of Turkish Women in Federal Republic of Germany: Results of a Pilot Study', *International Migration Review* 18 (1984), pp. 1230-1246.

¹²⁴ See T. Modood, *Not Easy Being British: Colour, Culture and Citizenship* (Stoke-on-Trent, 1992), Runnymede Trust, *Islamophobia: Its Features and Dangers. A Consultation Paper* (London, 1997) and S. Sirin and S. Fahy, 'What Do Muslims Want? A Voice from Britain', *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 6 (2006), pp. 285-288.

¹²⁵ C. Brown and P. Gay, 'Racial Discrimination 17 Years After the Act', in P. Burstein (ed.), *Equal Employment Opportunity* (New York, 1994), pp. 315-328 and T. Modood, 'The End of Hegemony: The Concept of "Black" and British Asians', in J. Rex and B. Drury (eds.), *Ethnic Mobilisation in a Multi-Cultural Europe* (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 87-96.

¹²⁶ See Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, 18 March 1983-17 July 1985, Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service and Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, 6 August 1987-16 March 1988, Employment and Black People, March 1988, MD.NC/162/3, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

¹²⁷ See D. Miller, 'Emigrant Turkish Workers: A Socio-Economic Analysis', in D. Miller (ed.), *Essays on Labor Force and Employment in Turkey* (Ankara, 1971), pp. 197-224, G. Volker, 'Impact of Turkish Labor Migration on the German Economy', Paper Presented at the Middle East Studies Association (New York, 1972) and T. Manson, 'A Comparison of Industrial Learning Behaviour of Turkish Workers at Home and Abroad', Paper Presented at the Middle East Studies Association (New York, 1972).

fellow European nations, such as Spain, Greece and Italy. This has not only been because of their Levantine appearance, but is also the result of their customs and religion.¹²⁸

Undoubtedly, the fact that Turkish guest-workers arrived to Germany in greater numbers and, on the whole, stayed for longer periods of time also played a role.¹²⁹ As a result they have always been grouped apart from Germany's white European immigrants, unlike New Commonwealth Muslim immigrants in Britain who have traditionally been banded together with other "black" immigrants, such as those from other countries that once belonged to the empire.

In relation to Newcastle, there are two works that provide an effective basis for this study.¹³⁰ Based on research completed during the mid to late 1960s, the conclusions reached by both Davies and Taylor contradict strongly the established historiography and state that their Asian respondents perform as well in the employment sector as their English counterparts. Perhaps this is the result of North East England being a welcoming host, a notion that Todd and Byrne support with certainty.¹³¹ Instead, it could be a consequence of a characteristic pertaining to the Muslim immigrant community, rather than to the local adopted society. In relation to Bremen, there are no works addressing the performance of the city's Muslim immigrants within the local labour market. However, by drawing upon national and regional trends and studies, the extent of immigrant economic integration and whether local indigenous patriotism has affected this, will be investigated.¹³²

This chapter will begin by analysing the position of first-generation Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen. Whilst Newcastle's immigrants appear to have had very similar employment opportunities to the indigenous population, the vast majority of

¹²⁸ See D. Horrocks and E. Kolinsky, *Turkish Culture in German Society Today* (Oxford, 1996), p. xiii, Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, p. 8, Barbieri, *Ethics of Citizenship*, p. 33, B. Ünal, 'Turkey-Islam': Recipe for Success or Hindrance to the Integration of the Turkish Diaspora Community in Germany', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 24 (2004), pp. 259–283, B. Lewis, 'The Third Wave: Muslim Migration to Europe', *New Perspectives Quarterly* 24 (2007), pp. 30–35 and J. Fetzer, *Muslims and the State in Britain, France and Germany* (Cambridge, 2005).

¹²⁹ See E. Siedel, 'Cultural Change and Gurbet Literature: The Turkish Minority in Germany', in S. Abedin and Z. Sardar (eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West* (London, 1995), p. 78 and J. Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 23.

¹³⁰ See Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat* and Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*.

¹³¹ See Todd, 'Black-on-Tyne' and Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?'.
¹³² See Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen', p. 5, Buse, 'Urban and National Identity' and Gutmann, *Bremen Bremerhaven*, p. 9.

Bremen's were confined to recruitment contracts, doing work that the local German population refused to undertake. During the late 1970s and into the 1980s, the employment patterns of both cities' immigrant communities were altered as a result of the regions' economic structural changes. In Newcastle, many Muslim immigrant families established small businesses. Those in Bremen were not able to immediately fulfill their desire for economic independence as those in Newcastle. Instead, they did not start to found small businesses until the mid-1980s to early 1990s, having firstly passed through other sectors, such as that of transport. Though this was also the case in Newcastle, due to the lack of a *Gastarbeiter* rotation system, the Muslim immigrants enjoyed a greater labour mobility allowing them to spread throughout the economy roughly ten to fifteen years before those in Bremen.

Despite their two very different immigration histories, Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen have become increasingly concentrated in family and community-run businesses. Furthermore, this self-sufficiency and economic independence has, in both cases, been the chosen, and even preferred, economic path of both immigrant communities. This has been witnessed in the fact that a large proportion of Muslim immigrants in both cities became integrated into the local labour markets at one stage or another. However, once the necessary financial capital was attained, this economic integration was soon dropped in favour of self-employment that took the form of the establishment of small businesses. Contrary to the established historiography, this chapter asserts that this struggle for self-sustainability has not been the result of discrimination suffered within the employment sector, but merely due to the entrepreneurial spirit present amongst the ethnic minority communities.¹³³

Background Research by J. H. Taylor and Jon Gower Davies Carried out in the 1960s.

This research carried out by Taylor and Davies during the 1960s and 1970s has been used for three reasons.¹³⁴ Firstly, they are the sole scholars who have substantially

¹³³ See J. Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City* (London, 1973), p. 102, H. Aldrich, J. Cater, T. Jones and D. McEvoy, 'Business Development and Self-Segregation: Asian Enterprise in Three British Cities', in C. Peach, V. Robinson and S. Smith (eds.), *Ethnic Segregation in Cities* (Athens, 1981), p. 188 and S. Allen, S. Bentley and J. Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration* (Bradford, 1977), p. 244.

¹³⁴ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation* and Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*.

researched Newcastle's Asian community. Secondly, Taylor's work, published in 1976, was the first thorough account of the younger generation of any of Britain's immigrant communities to appear in print. This not only made his study groundbreaking on a regional level, but also on a national one. His study was closely followed by that of Allen, Bentley and Bornat in 1977, which provides an in-depth account of the employment patterns of immigrants in Bradford.¹³⁵ This work, along with those of Rex and Wright, provides a very effective point of comparison for the case of Newcastle, which are included in this section, as well as throughout the remainder of this chapter.¹³⁶ Thirdly, Davies, a social scientist who is widely published on Newcastle's immigrant communities, as well as having worked on a government-run project involving the immigrants of the West End's Rye Hill, held a firm grasp and understanding of the city's Muslim population unbeknown to others.

The combination of these two studies provides the first and only account of the position of Newcastle's Muslim immigrants on the local labour market. Both Taylor and Davies' research is based on surveys carried out during the 1960s. Taylor's respondents consisted of all Asian boys who reached leaving age in Newcastle's schools between 1962 and 1967. Davies' respondents were sixty-seven Indian and Pakistani male youths who lived in Newcastle's West End, and Indian and Pakistani property owners in Rye Hill. It is necessary to recall the situation that would have surrounded Taylor and Davies' Muslim respondents at the time. The Race Relations Act 1976 that made it unlawful to discriminate on racial grounds within the employment sector had yet to be introduced. The 1970s, the decade that witnessed the success in local elections for extremist parties and that bore a strong sense of anti-racism that led to the establishment of numerous organisations and demonstrations, had not yet begun. Furthermore, this was before the late 1970s' Notting Hill riots, before Viv Anderson became the first black footballer to be selected for England and before the establishment of the Commission for Racial Equality.

What Taylor and Davies' research portrays is the manner in which Muslim immigrants were able to perform economically on a local level before there was legislation protecting them against discrimination in the sector. Amongst other factors,

¹³⁵ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*.

¹³⁶ Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City* and P. Wright, *The Coloured Worker in British Industry. With Special Reference to the Midlands and the North Of England* (London, 1968).

their studies established whether Newcastle's Muslim immigrant youths fared worse in the employment sector than their English counterparts, what types of work they were concentrated in and whether the second generation was breaking away from the employment patterns of their parents. It must be remembered that, as is also the case with Bremen, employment in the North East cannot be discussed without mentioning the region's long and bleak history of unemployment.¹³⁷ Taylor reinforces this notion by establishing the number of vacancies per hundred unemployed boys for each year between 1962 and 1967. Of the six years studied, during only two years, 1965 and 1966, was there even a substantial excess of vacancies. In 1966, it amounted to fifty per-cent, meaning that there were one and a half unfilled jobs per every unemployed boy. However, in 1964 and 1967, there was only one job available for every two unemployed boys. In 1962 and 1963, there were only 31 and 13 vacancies per 100 unemployed boys respectively.¹³⁸ It is when comparing these statistics with those for other regions that the gravity of the situation becomes apparent, with unemployment in the North East consistently outstripping that of the rest of the country. It would appear then that, not only did Newcastle's Muslim immigrants risk the customary forms of discrimination, such as becoming concentrated in unskilled jobs and enduring segregation at the workplace,¹³⁹ but they would most likely encounter further hardships as a consequence of living in a region notorious for such high levels of unemployment.

This situation may have been worsened by the fact that Newcastle's Muslim immigrants were economically concentrated in two types of employment, either in the public transport sector as bus drivers and conductors, or as self-employed shop-keepers, peddlers and tailors. Davies held interviews with sixteen first-generation Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Newcastle's West End in 1965. Of these, three worked on buses in the city, six were self-employed door-to-door salesmen, three were shop-keepers, two were labourers, and two were artisans.¹⁴⁰ These results coincided with a survey that

¹³⁷ See North East Local Studies Workshop, *The Question of Unemployment: Workshop Proceedings of the North East Local Studies Group* (Durham, 1982), F. Robinson, *"It's Not Really Like That": Living with Unemployment in the North East* (Newcastle, 1987) and J. Chambers, *Geordies – Offun on the Dole* (Newcastle, 1989).

¹³⁸ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, pp. 173–174.

¹³⁹ See Smith, *Racial Disadvantage in Britain*, Desai, *Indian Immigrants in Britain*, p. 85 and Bayliss and Coates, 'West Indians at Work in Nottingham', p. 157

¹⁴⁰ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 26.

Taylor and Davies carried out in 1967 in which they recorded the occupations of all Indian and Pakistani male immigrants in Rye Hill. Of these, twenty-two were door-to-door salesmen, seven were shop owners, fifteen worked in the transport sector, fourteen were unskilled labourers, two were full-time landlords, four were skilled artisans and the remaining ten were either unemployed, untraceable or did not wish to be interviewed.¹⁴¹ The notion that many of Newcastle's Muslim immigrants became concentrated in the transport industry is supported by the 1981 Black Business Development Project, which states that Tyne & Wear Passenger Transport Executive employed a substantial number of members of Newcastle's ethnic minorities.¹⁴² As will later be discussed, the transport sector also played a major role in the employment history of Muslim immigrants in Bremen.

These results differ greatly from those found in relation to Bradford's first-generation Indian and Pakistani immigrants. Allen, Bentley and Bornat's 1977 study found that 64.6% of Bradford's coloured labour force worked in the textile industry, and transport, a sector in which Newcastle's first generation became concentrated, employed only 12.9%.¹⁴³ A feasible explanation for this is that the work completed by Muslim immigrants in Bradford was replacement labour. In other words, immigrants filled jobs that the local indigenous population no longer wished to. This is seen in the fact that Bradford's textile industry had historically dominated the local economy and, still during the 1960s, 48% of the city's total employment was determined by the needs of this industry.¹⁴⁴ It appears that, already amongst Newcastle's first-generation Muslim immigrants, there was a greater sense of economic independence than amongst those of other areas in Britain.

Whilst Bradford's immigrants were concentrated in the textile, transport and engineering industries,¹⁴⁵ Taylor and Davies' results demonstrate that many of Newcastle's immigrants were self-employed, either as door-to-door salesmen or as shop-keepers. This relatively successful economic position of Newcastle's immigrants again

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁴² Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, p. 22.

¹⁴³ Allen, Bentley and Bornat *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 37.

¹⁴⁴ See J. Collins, P. Bradshaw and P. Barnes, *The Structure of Bradford Industry*, B.A.D.A. Research Committee Report (June 1969), p. 26.

¹⁴⁵ Allen, Bentley and Bornat *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 37.

becomes apparent when comparing their economic position to West Indian immigrants in Birmingham who, between 1948 and 1962, were marginal workers who completed “dirty” jobs on the labour force.¹⁴⁶ This entrepreneurialism did not become apparent amongst Bremen’s Muslim immigrants until much later.

Whilst the employment patterns of the first generation are important, they alone are not an indicator of the extent to which Newcastle’s Muslim immigrant community has become integrated into the local labour market. Whereas, compared to Turkish immigrants arriving in Bremen Newcastle’s first-generation immigrants had a significant linguistic and educational advantage, they nevertheless were disadvantaged by their origins in a manner that the second generation was not. The economic position of their children, the second generation, is an effective indicator of the community’s integration. Of Taylor’s second-generation respondents, 7% had been born in Britain, 42% had come to Britain either at primary school age or younger, and 34% did not arrive until the age of thirteen or above.¹⁴⁷

Judging from the fact that many of them arrived in Newcastle at a relatively young age, one could expect that they would achieve an economic success similar to their English counterparts. Compared to their parents, they had a much higher grasp of the English language and culture, and they held qualifications obtained in Britain. Therefore, if these Muslim youths were not obtaining the same employment opportunities as indigenous youths, one possibility was that they were suffering discrimination in Newcastle’s employment sector. Another possibility, however, is that they were simply not choosing to seek the same types of employment as English youths because, instead, they preferred to adhere to the employment patterns of their parents. The following table shows the sectors in which both Taylor’s Asian and English respondents were employed in at the time of the interviews:

¹⁴⁶ See Lindsey, ‘The Split-Labour Phenomenon’, p. 103.

¹⁴⁷ Taylor, *The Half-way Generation*, p. 177.

Table: The type of employment carried out by Taylor's Asian respondents upon reaching school-leaving age between 1962 and 1967 compared to their English counterparts.¹⁴⁸

Type of Employment	Asian Youths	English Youths
Non-Manual Apprentices	2.8%	3.8%
Manual Apprentices	31.4%	23%
Skilled Non-Manual Workers	5.7%	13.5%
Skilled Manual Workers	17.1%	7.7%
Semi-Skilled Non-Manual Workers	0	2%
Semi-Skilled Manual Workers	17.1%	21.2%
Unskilled Manual Workers	17.1%	9.6%
Armed Forces	0	3.8%
Unemployed	8.6%	13.5%

As can be seen, it was only in non-manual employment that the Asian youths fared worse than the English youths. In all other sectors, the two groups were evenly matched, with unemployment amongst Asians being below the indigenous level. Similar proportions had apprenticeships, relatively skilled jobs and were consigned to semi- and unskilled jobs. There is also a similarity between the number of apprenticeships attained by Taylor's respondents and those on both a city and regional level. Amongst Taylor's Asian respondents, 42% had secured apprenticeships. This compares to 45.5% of the population of Newcastle and 44.4% on a regional level.¹⁴⁹ However, it must be noted that the Asians were concentrated in manual apprenticeships, whilst the English youths were blue-collar workers. Nevertheless, regardless of the type of apprenticeship they were allocated, these Muslim immigrant youths were an exception to Wright's theory concerning the Midlands and North of England that 'managers are reluctant to give apprenticeships to coloured school leavers because they fear that the white workers may not accept them in skilled jobs'.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, it would appear from these statistics that, not only were Newcastle's second-generation Muslim immigrants diverting away from the employment patterns of their parents, but they also had opportunities for

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 176.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 178.

¹⁵⁰ Wright, *The Coloured Worker in British Industry*, p. 219.

apprenticeship-training and further education working alongside their English counterparts.

Taylor did, however, establish that his young Asian respondents had greater difficulty initially obtaining employment; 53% of the English youths had found employment within one week of leaving school, compared to only 31% of the Asian youths. Similarly, 84% of his English respondents had secured employment within four weeks of leaving school compared with only 59% of the Asians.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, 76% of the English youths had found employment between one and three applications. The same was true for only 50% of the Asians. Similarly, 90% of the English respondents had secured employment after applying to a total of nine firms, compared with only 72% of the young Asians.¹⁵² There was, without a doubt, a clear correlation between the ages at which his Asian respondents had arrived in Britain and both the time it took and the number of firms they applied to before securing work. As was previously mentioned, 7% of the Asians were born in Britain, whilst 42% did not arrive until primary school age and 34% arrived at the age of thirteen or older.

It is, therefore, impossible to declare with certainty that the fact that Taylor's Asians respondents experienced greater difficulty in finding employment was a result of discrimination. This could have merely been due to a lack of English, certain qualification or, in some cases, ability. Taylor states, however, that he has 'no doubt there was discrimination. Amongst the economically active matched Asians, 12, or 38%, believed that they had been refused a job because of racial discrimination, 15 (47%) thought they had not.'¹⁵³ Indeed, the historiography supports the notion that discrimination has traditionally been a daily feature in the lives of young immigrants in Britain's employment sector.¹⁵⁴

However, in contrast to historical literature, Taylor's Asian respondents reported higher earnings than their white counterparts. When asked what their take-home pay had been the previous week, they all fell around the £10 division, with 46% earning slightly

¹⁵¹ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, p. 178.

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 178-179.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 179.

¹⁵⁴ See Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City*, p. 98, C. Peach, *West Indian Migration to Britain: A Social Geography* (London, 1968) and T. Modood, *Multicultural Politics. Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain* (Bodmin, 2005), pp. 60-81.

less and 43% marginally more.¹⁵⁵ Surprisingly, 62% of the English youths took home less than this amount and only 23% took home more.¹⁵⁶ This differs vastly from the findings of other studies. During the mid to late 1970s, Rex and Tomlinson discovered that Birmingham's Asian and West Indian immigrants worked more hours per week, yet some still tended to earn less.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, Allen, Bentley and Bornat concluded that low wages was the most common complaint amongst Indian and Pakistani employees in Bradford.¹⁵⁸ Also, this differs vastly from the experiences of Muslim immigrants in Bremen, many of whom, during this same period, were still employed on temporary contracts with one of the city's shipbuilding companies where wages were much lower. Furthermore, the fact that a mere 8.6% of Taylor's Asian respondents were unemployed is a further deviation from the established historiography. The most notorious study from this period, Stevenson and Wallis' study concerning West Indian adolescents in London, estimated their unemployment rate to be circa 22%.¹⁵⁹

There is no doubt that the conclusions reached by Taylor and Davies are entirely unexpected. The fact that between 1962 and 1967 only 8% of Taylor's respondents were unemployed when Newcastle had some of the highest unemployment rates in Britain during the 1960s is indeed astounding.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, there is no denying the fact that Taylor and Davies' respondents have strayed from the established historiography in numerous ways. The city's first-generation Muslim immigrants demonstrated an economic independence that was not witnessed either amongst Bradford's Indians and Pakistanis, nor is it a feature amongst Wright's late 1960s study addressing coloured workers in the Midlands and the North of England.¹⁶¹

Newcastle's second-generation Muslim immigrants have, firstly, digressed from the employment patterns of their parents. Secondly, they have succeeded in finding employment of a similar nature and on an often higher wage bracket than their English

¹⁵⁵ These pre-1971 figures are in British Imperial measure.

¹⁵⁶ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, p. 182.

¹⁵⁷ Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, p. 113.

¹⁵⁸ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 208.

¹⁵⁹ D. Stevenson and P. Wallis, 'Second Generation West Indians: A Study in Alienation', *Race Today* (August 1970), p. 279.

¹⁶⁰ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, p. 183.

¹⁶¹ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 37 and Wright, *The Coloured Worker in British Industry*.

counterparts. Regardless of whether Taylor's respondents were taking longer to find employment due to discrimination, it cannot be denied that a certain level of economic integration was indeed taking place. If one were to conclude here, it would seem reasonable to suggest that Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community was economically integrated and that Newcastle was a city that did not act as a microcosm for the rest of Britain, but rather that it was a haven for immigrants' economic success. Perhaps Todd and Byrne's determination that the North East is a welcoming host carries more weight than originally thought.¹⁶²

Independence through Integration.

Previously, it was discussed how Davies' first-generation Indian and Pakistani respondents demonstrated a greater ambition for economic independence than was the case in other studies.¹⁶³ This section will analyse how the preference for small businesses became more widespread by the early 1980s amongst Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community. This discussion will draw heavily upon two documents. The first is the 1981 Black Business Development Project, which was Newcastle's local authority's first attempt at recording employment traits of the city's immigrant communities and was a direct response to the pressure applied by the Race Relations Act 1976.¹⁶⁴ Secondly, the 1985 document entitled Ethnic Minority Groups & Business Development, describes a project that was to be introduced in the West End of Newcastle in order to identify problems encountered by immigrant business owners.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, possible reasons why Newcastle's Muslim immigrants opted for self-employment will be suggested, as well as comparisons with immigrant communities in other British cities. This section is also important due to the fact that a significant time-lag in immigrant self-employment patterns can be seen between Newcastle and Bremen, which illuminates wider issues of their respective integrations.

¹⁶² See Todd, 'Black-on-Tyne' and Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?'.
¹⁶³ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 26.
¹⁶⁴ Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1.
¹⁶⁵ Local Government & Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, 18 September 1985-15 July 1987, City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Economic Development Committee, Ethnic Minority Groups & Business Development, 4 March 1985, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

It was the Black Business Development Project that offered an in-depth description of the types of small businesses that Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community opted for during the 1980s. For the most part, the Bangladeshi community became concentrated in the restaurant and catering trade, whilst the Indian and Pakistani communities chose primarily to establish small businesses that took the form of retail outlets, with a small proportion opting for garment warehousing. The document makes reference to what was mentioned earlier in relation to Taylor and Davies' respondents: unlike in other British cities and in Bremen, Muslim immigrants in Newcastle did not become concentrated in the "dirty sector" of the local economy.¹⁶⁶

The reasons for this are numerous. Firstly, even during times of an economic boom, the North East still experiences significant levels of unemployment. This means that, contrary to West Indian immigrants in Birmingham who, between 1948 and 1962, were marginal workers who completed "dirty" jobs, in Newcastle, Muslim immigrants competed alongside the indigenous population for even the lowest paid of jobs.¹⁶⁷ The second possible reason is a direct consequence of the size of Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community. In contrast with other cities, such as London, Birmingham and Bradford, Newcastle's immigrant community has historically been relatively small.¹⁶⁸ This is beneficial because the types of small businesses opened are those that could easily and quickly reach a saturation point. For example, the capacity for Indian restaurants and *halal* food stores is finite. It is perhaps, therefore, a direct result of Newcastle's relatively small immigrant community that Muslim immigrants in Newcastle have been able to afford the "luxury" of self-employment.

As was cited in the Black Business Development Project, Indians and Pakistanis who arrived in Newcastle during the 1960s and 1970s displayed similar traits within their

¹⁶⁶ Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, p. 22.

¹⁶⁷ See Lindsey, 'The Split-Labour Phenomenon', p. 103.

¹⁶⁸ According to the censuses, Newcastle's Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi population stood at 1,202 in 1961, 2,697 in 1981, 3,457 in 1991 and 5,704 in 2001. It is necessary to realise, however, that these figures include only those people born in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and not any descendants born in Newcastle. The real figure of this immigrant community, therefore, was undoubtedly much higher. These figures are also distorted by the changes that took place with regards to Newcastle's county and administrative boundaries in 1974. Whilst the figure in the 1961 census was based on an area of just over 11,000 acres, those from 1981 onwards were based on an area of circa 28,000 acres. These statistics have been provided by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The microfilm containing the data for the 1971 census has been misplaced and this information can, therefore, not be accessed.

approach to employment. The majority arrived with very few economic resources and depended largely on contacts within their own communities. An example of this approach would be those who worked in the drapery trade. Initially, contacts would be used to sell draperies door-to-door and, once enough money had been saved, the salesmen would open a market stall and, eventually, a small shop.¹⁶⁹ This description coincides with the conclusions reached by the surveys carried out by Taylor and Davies amongst Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle's West End in 1965 and 1967.¹⁷⁰ It is most probable that their door-to-door salesmen were amongst those who wished to eventually open a small family-run business.

The experiences of the Bangladeshis have been traditionally different from those of the Indian and Pakistani communities. According to the Black Business Development Project, Bangladeshis tended to seek employment in local Bangladeshi restaurants. They started out as kitchen staff until their ability in the English language was fluent enough to be promoted to floor staff. Many of these workers would accumulate capital and experience in order to one day run a small take-away of their own and, if this was successful, possibly even a restaurant. Bangladeshi immigrants also relied on contacts and assistance from within their own community, and it was common for as many as four partners to own a take-away restaurant. Furthermore, it was often the case that a partner in a restaurant in Newcastle would also have at least one other partnership stake in a restaurant in another part of the country.¹⁷¹

This 1981 archival document paints a very different picture from the conclusions reached by Taylor and Davies during the mid to late 1960s. Nowhere is there mention of apprenticeships or of second-generation Muslim immigrants deviating away from the employment patterns of their parents. Instead, it appears as though, by the early 1980s, the exact opposite was occurring in the fact that the choices made by the second generation were simply adhering to those of the first in the form of small businesses. What must now be addressed is why there was such a dramatic change in results between Taylor and Davies' 1960s research and the conclusions reached by the 1981 Black Business Development Project.

¹⁶⁹ Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, p. 22.

¹⁷⁰ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 26.

¹⁷¹ Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, p. 22.

Firstly, as was also the case in Bremen, the economic structural change of the 1970s and into the 1980s played a role. With the closure of the dockyards, the steelworks and the coal mines, the region was thrown into a period of industrial unrest.¹⁷² Historically, during economic slump or depression immigrants have suffered more than the indigenous population. Many of Taylor's respondents who worked as skilled and unskilled manual workers, for example, would have doubtlessly found themselves out of work. Indigenous males who would have also become unemployed with the closure of the dockyards, steelworks and coal mines would have most probably flocked to both manual and non-manual apprenticeships and, in many cases, been chosen for places over their immigrant counterparts. This, in turn, would have caused many second-generation Muslim immigrants to revert back to the employment patterns of their parents.

Secondly, the historiography could lead one to believe that Muslim immigrants chose to establish, run or work in small ethnic minority businesses due to the manner in which they were treated by indigenous employers and work colleagues. When comparing the experiences of Asian workers with those of West Indian workers in British industry, Wright states that 'in spite of their initially lower level of skill, the Asian workers' employment and occupation levels were remarkably similar to those of the West Indians, but they had achieved this at the expense of being more diligent, more amenable to discipline, and, occasionally, more prepared to accept discriminatory treatment.'¹⁷³ In his early 1970s study of immigrants in Birmingham, Rex highlighted several ways in which these were discriminated against in the employment sector: they were not deemed to be suitable for executive positions, many companies did not employ coloured workers "as a matter of principle" and employers often only employed coloured workers as a last resort because they knew the indigenous workers did not want to work with them.¹⁷⁴

Similarly, Aldrich, Cater, Jones and McEvoy conclude that their Indian and Pakistani respondents in Bradford, Ealing and Leicester have become concentrated in small businesses as an attempt to shield themselves from discrimination.¹⁷⁵ It is little wonder that Allen, Bentley and Bornat's Asian respondents in Bradford referred to self-

¹⁷² See I. Calvert, *When the Pit Closed: A Report on Ministry in Former Mining Villages* (Bishop Auckland, 1982).

¹⁷³ Wright, *The Coloured Worker in British Industry*, p. 216.

¹⁷⁴ Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City*, p. 102.

¹⁷⁵ Aldrich, Cater, Jones and McEvoy, 'Business Development and Self-Segregation', p. 188.

employment as a highly desirable goal.¹⁷⁶ Although there is no mention of such discrimination in either primary documents or historical literature relating to Newcastle, one could assume that practices such as these affected the labour market choices of Taylor and Davies' respondents. Furthermore, this does not seem to be a trait only present in Britain, but in much of the Western world.¹⁷⁷

A third possible reason for why Newcastle's Muslim immigrants had, by the early 1980s, opted for self-employment could have been in the nature of the immigrants themselves. Again, when comparing Asian immigrants with those from the West Indies, Wright concludes that 'Asian immigrants do not wish to become fully integrated, but prefer to make only those adaptations to the British way of life which are necessary to achieve a minimum degree of accommodation into the receiving society's social and economic structure.'¹⁷⁸ Allen, Bentley and Bornat state that, in 1969, the year in which their research was completed, there was not a single West Indian business in Bradford.¹⁷⁹ This difference between the economic choices of Asian and West Indian immigrants could simply have been the result of individual circumstances. Perhaps the Asians had both the economic and advisory support to establish small businesses, whilst the West Indians did not. Regardless of the reason, there is no doubting the fact that there has been an ever-present entrepreneurial spirit within Newcastle's Muslim community ever since their arrival.¹⁸⁰ This desire for independence has also historically been witnessed in the housing sector.

Despite this ambition to be self-employed, few Muslim immigrants in Newcastle had any previous experience in business. As is highlighted by the Black Business Development Project, business ventures were mostly undertaken solely on the basis of personal judgement, rather than on planned projections of likely income and a thorough

¹⁷⁶ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 244.

¹⁷⁷ For Canada see F. Mata and R. Pendakur, 'Immigration, Labor Force Integration and the Pursuit of Self-Employment', *International Migration Review* 22 (1999), pp. 378–402. For the US see D. Papademetriou, *The Effects of Immigration on the US Economy and Labor Market*, US Department of Labour, Bureau of International Labor Affairs (1989). For Europe see M. Morokvasic, 'Roads to Independence. Self-Employed Immigrants and Minority Women in Five European States', *International Migration* 29 (1991), pp. 407–419.

¹⁷⁸ Wright, *The Coloured Worker in British Industry*, p. 215.

¹⁷⁹ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 244.

¹⁸⁰ Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, p. 23.

investigation of financial and other assistance available.¹⁸¹ Any small business in Britain that wanted to obtain financial assistance from a local authority, a bank or a small business development agency, would need to produce documentation showing likely turnover and market potential at the very least. However, Newcastle's Muslim immigrant businessmen have never needed to adhere to this business etiquette because they have historically sought advice from within their own communities and have used past successful business experiences as models.¹⁸²

Needless to say, this approach had disadvantages. Firstly, a saturation point could be reached when it was no longer financially viable to open another take-away or corner shop in a given area. Secondly, because advice was not sought, the investment of resources was not always used to the optimum efficiency. Thirdly, it is probable that the potential to create new services was not realised. However, this trait of not seeking assistance from outside the immigrant community is by no means particular to Newcastle. Allen, Bentley and Bornat found that, amongst their Indian and Pakistani respondents in Bradford, 'sources of finance and sites for businesses in many cases are provided entirely from within the community and independent of any white resources.'¹⁸³ Bremen's Muslim immigrant community also adhered to this pattern in that 75% depended largely on family and friends when establishing businesses and only 15.7% took advantage of public grants and funds.¹⁸⁴

It cannot be said, however, that there was not assistance available to Newcastle's Muslim immigrant businessmen as the city hosted numerous small firm advisory services. However, very few ethnic minority members approached these services seeking advice. As is mentioned in the Black Business Development Project, various attempts were made by Newcastle's local authority to assist immigrants with the foundation of small businesses. There were seminars and courses in which the financial and other types of aid available to them were discussed. On the whole, however, these were poorly

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸³ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 247.

¹⁸⁴ See *Türkische Unternehmer in Bremen und Bremerhaven: Eine Analyse ihrer Struktur, ihrer wirtschaftlichen Situation sowie ihrer Integration in das deutsche Wirtschaftsgefüge*, Ai-408, Staatsarchiv Bremen, p. 29.



Two Muslim immigrant-run corner stores in the West End of Newcastle in 1980.¹⁸⁵



¹⁸⁵ West Newcastle Local Studies, Picture Collection, Benwell Library.

attended.¹⁸⁶ Consequently, by the mid-1980s, Newcastle City Council decided to attempt to offer assistance to ethnic minority businessmen from within their own communities where they tended to seek advice.

As a result, the Ethnic Minorities Groups Business Development Project was drawn up by the Tyne & Wear Community Relations Council in March 1985.¹⁸⁷ The implementation of this project revolved around the appointment of an Employment Development Worker for the West End of Newcastle, whose role it would be to identify the nature and extent of the problems faced by ethnic minority businesses. It was decided that the project was to start at the end of 1985, would last two years and cost a total of £32,580. Newcastle City Council and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) were each asked to fund 50% of the cost. The CRE agreed to financially support this project. It felt that the four main obstacles faced by immigrant businessmen in Newcastle, outlined as a lack of finance, management expertise, understanding of the market, and environmental problems, were not particular to Newcastle and this project would, therefore, provide groundwork for the rest of Britain.¹⁸⁸

However, although the CRE was willing to fund this project, Newcastle City Council was not. The main reason given for this decision was that it attempted to group all ethnic minorities together into a "one size fits all" solution. This approach was very much in accordance with the aforementioned pre-1990s tendency to band all immigrants together under the term "black".¹⁸⁹ As a result, the project was never introduced into Newcastle's West End. It is safe to assume that it would not have been effective regardless. As discussed previously, Newcastle's Muslim immigrants' employment patterns appear to be culturally determined with Bangladeshis concentrated in catering, and Indians and Pakistanis in retailing. It was the certainty that one development worker from one ethnic minority would fail to break both this relationship between cultural ties and employment, and the immigrants' habit of relying on their own communities for assistance that the council gave as its main reason for not funding the project.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, p. 24.

¹⁸⁷ Ethnic Minority Groups & Business Development, 4 March 1985, MD.NC/162/1.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

¹⁸⁹ See Brown and Gay, 'Racial Discrimination 17 Years After the Act', pp. 315-328 and Modood, 'The End of Hegemony'.

¹⁹⁰ Ethnic Minority Groups & Business Development, 4 March 1985, MD.NC/162/1, p. 18.

There were two further key reasons given. Firstly, the council argued that there were already established posts and agencies, such as Small Firms Officers in the Economic Development Unit, who could address any enquiries made by ethnic minority businessmen. It is doubtful, however, that these officers had an in-depth understanding of Newcastle's immigrant community or were aware of the characteristics they possessed in relation to business. During the early 1980s, the unit dealt with circa 600 enquiries a year. Of these, it is not known how many were made by the immigrant community, or indeed, how many by Muslim immigrants. One could suggest, however, that very few were aware of the services provided and even fewer were willing to take advantage of them. Secondly, the council stated that it had chosen not to fund this project because it had been confirmed by other agencies that ethnic minority businessmen do not seek advice outside their communities and it would, therefore, not be utilised to its full potential.¹⁹¹ There is no mention of who these other agencies were.

Despite the fact that Newcastle City Council decided not to fund this project, it was nevertheless deemed necessary that some form of assistance be offered to ethnic minority businesses. Consequently, the Economic Development Committee proposed three possible courses of action for addressing ethnic minority businesses. Firstly, the project proposed by the Tyne & Wear Community Relations Council was not to be entirely disregarded. It was, however, agreed that, if this project was indeed launched, the council would only agree to pay the Employment Development Worker 50% of the salary costs of the SO2 grade, lower than had originally been proposed. Secondly, the council considered the possibility of itself appointing a specialist to work in the West End. This scheme would have two advantages in that a 75% grant aid could be sought from the Home Office under Section 11 of the Local Government Act of 1966 and this approach would be an integral part of the council's business development activities, rather than being run independently. A possible third option was to make use of the provision made in the 1985/86 Budget in order to assign someone to a post whose duty it would be to work closely with ethnic minority groups in the West End. The council believed that, although this post would not be as effective as that suggested by the Tyne & Wear

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 19.

Community Relations Council, it would nevertheless provide the council with a better idea of what further action needed to be taken.¹⁹²

What is immediately apparent is that all three of these possible “solutions” involved the appointment of one worker from one ethnic minority to the West End. Yet, the council’s main reason for not supporting the Tyne & Wear Community Relations Council’s project was that exactly this approach would never have been effective. In other words, it seems as though the council was making proposals that would never be implemented because they were perceived as doomed to fail. Indeed, no action was taken.¹⁹³ It is, on the one hand, easy to see why the council did not deem it necessary for assistance to be offered to Muslim immigrant businesses. Firstly, the chances of them taking advantage of the opportunities available were very slight indeed. As had been established in the Black Business Development Project, it seemed as though the employment choices for many of the city’s immigrants were pre-destined, making intervention almost futile.¹⁹⁴ Secondly, Newcastle’s immigrant community was small compared to those of other British cities, and businesses appear to have traditionally prospered when left to their own devices as their numbers in specific areas never reached saturation point. Furthermore, the city’s ethnic minority businesses were clustered together, both in terms of business type and geographical remit, further enhancing the concept that they did indeed form a separate chain of businesses, one that ran parallel to those of the indigenous population.

This weariness on behalf of the council to offer assistance to the city’s ethnic minority businesses could be seen as an indication that it was well informed of the immigrants’ employment paradigm. Similarly, the CRE’s willingness to fund the project could have been an indication that it was not familiar with Newcastle’s Muslim immigrant community. Yet this trait of not seeking business assistance outside the immigrant community was in no way particular to Newcastle. Allen, Bentley and Bornat’s Indian and Pakistani respondents in Bradford also relied heavily on family and friends for finance, and all of their respondents, except one, had entirely funded their

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁹⁴ Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, pp. 22–24.

businesses in this manner.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, the vast majority of them insisted that they had encountered no difficulties in raising sufficient funds.¹⁹⁶ There is no mention of a local authority initiative that assisted Bradford's immigrants with the establishment and running of their businesses. Perhaps more importantly, when voicing their opinions, the immigrants themselves did not express a desire for such a project.

It must be realised, however, that other historical literature has found that Asian communities in Britain have had difficulties obtaining the funding necessary for establishing businesses from family members and friends. Zimmer and Aldrich conclude that immigrants in Bradford, Leicester and Ealing obtain only one-third of the funding necessary from family and friends, whereas members of the indigenous population succeed in raising two-thirds in this manner.¹⁹⁷ This can lead to one of two possible conclusions. Firstly, it is possible that, when compared to certain other British cities, Muslim immigrants in Newcastle belonged to a smaller and more close-knit community with a high level of entrepreneurial spirit in which family and friends were eager to fund small business ventures. The second possibility is that it is only Britain's Asian immigrants that do not require assistance from outside their communities. Zimmer's and Aldrich's respondents consisted of immigrants from countries, such as Uganda who perhaps, belonging to much smaller ethnic minority communities, did not have access to the same resources as those from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

What still remains unclear is why Newcastle City Council felt the need to consider such an intervention when it believed that it would not be utilised. Such assistance, however, appears not to have been particular to Newcastle. Rex and Tomlinson discuss how the Youth Employment and Careers Advisory Service played an enhanced role in Birmingham during the late 1970s.¹⁹⁸ Although they do not state why they believe this change took place, and secondary literature does not seem to document such interventions taking place in other British cities at that time, it is possible that the Race Relations Act 1976 played a role in encouraging this assistance. As will be seen in the following two chapters on housing and education, this Act, as well as other national

¹⁹⁵ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 256.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 258.

¹⁹⁷ C. Zimmer and H. Aldrich, 'Resource Mobilization Through Ethnic Networks. Kinship and Friendship Ties of Shopkeepers in England', *Sociological Perspectives* 30 (1987), p. 442.

¹⁹⁸ Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 215, 218-220 & 280.

legislation, has historically put pressure on Newcastle City Council to either investigate the performance of the city's immigrants within a certain sector or to alter policies altogether. This assistance marks a clear distinction with the situation in Bremen whose local government, by the 1970s, was concerned primarily with the strain on social infrastructure caused by family reunification.

This assistance in Newcastle continued well into the 1990s. In 1997, Newcastle City Council founded LIA Newcastle, a pilot initiative whose aims were as follows: 'Creating conditions necessary for local development, developing already existing local businesses, promoting local business, support structures for local businesses and ensuring equal opportunities by combating racism.'¹⁹⁹ The first step taken by the organisation was to compile a survey that was to be completed by the owners of Newcastle's ethnic minority businesses. The survey was sent to 465 businesses and was completed by 449 (96%) of them. Some of the results are as follows: 85% of the businesses had not had any form of business training, only 35% expressed an interest in taking part in a business support network, 62% operated as sole traders, 18% were dissatisfied with their locations, 22% were affected by crime and 17% by racial harassment. Areas such as marketing and advertising, basic accounting and business planning were identified as popular learning needs, and 41% of businesses were owned by Indians, 27% by Pakistanis and 20% by Chinese.²⁰⁰

What immediately becomes apparent is that, although the majority of businesses had not received any type of business training, only about a third of them were interested in joining a support network. Furthermore, there is no way of telling how many of these business owners were Muslim. In total, 68% were owned by Indians and Pakistanis, meaning that 32% of Newcastle's ethnic minority businesses, at this time, were owned by members of the Chinese and Bangladeshi communities, as well as other small ethnic minorities. It could be, therefore, that a large proportion of this 35% who expressed an interest in joining a business support network were Chinese businessmen from the city's well-established Chinatown, not Muslim businessmen of a more diverse nature, both in

¹⁹⁹ Racial Equality Working Group, *Minority Ethnic Businesses in Newcastle. Report of Survey Undertaken by Chief Executive's Department Newcastle City Council 1997*, MD.NC/614/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service, p. 2.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. iii.

terms of geography and business-type. As literature on Newcastle's Chinese immigrant community is scarce, there is no way of stating with certainty that its members would react positively to such an initiative. However, one can be confident that this trait would not be in keeping with that of Newcastle's Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities. Their desire for independence is further enhanced by the fact that, in most cases, assistance is rejected, despite racial harassment and crime not being uncommon.

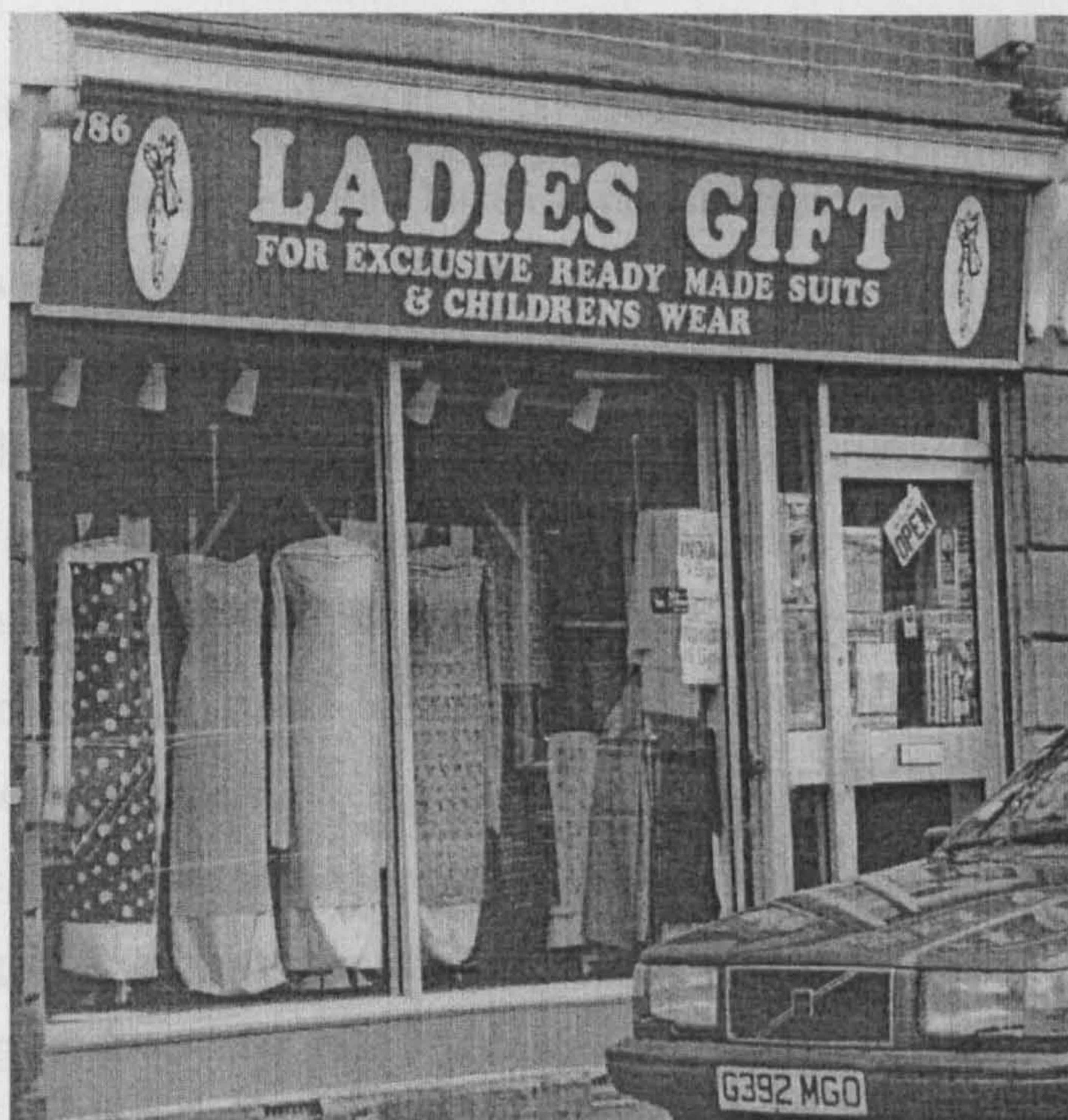
Regardless of the fact that many ethnic minority businessmen did not wish to join this network, LIA Newcastle nevertheless decided that certain measures were to be introduced. Some of them read as follows: all businesses should introduce "ethnic monitoring"; they should be encouraged to report racial harassment and crime; they should be encouraged to take up trainees; more opportunities should be available for the training of the second and third generations; an ethnic minority business directory should be created and more should be done to tackle security and environmental issues.²⁰¹ It appears as though this approach taken by the council was inefficient. Firstly, each of the recommendations addressed the ethnic minority businesses as one large group, making the same mistake as both the Black Business Development Project and the Ethnic Minorities Groups Business Development Project.²⁰² It would appear difficult to understand why the council was supporting such a project when, already by 1985, it admitted that each ethnic minority's business requirements needed to be catered for individually and that a "one size fits all" approach would not be effective.²⁰³

Instead, it would have been pertinent for the LIA to offer ethnically-tailored solutions to each minority, whether to Newcastle's Indians and Pakistanis and their small retail outlets and garment warehouses, or to the Bangladeshi restaurant and catering trade. Indians and Pakistanis would benefit from advice on such topics as business insurance due to their vast amounts of stock, and Bangladeshis would be advantaged by specific advice on the food standards agency, environmental health, catering qualifications and safety restaurant training. Furthermore, these recommendations remained vague. What would ethnic monitoring entail? What would the aims of the Minority Ethnic Businesses

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁰² See Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1 and Ethnic Minority Groups & Business Development, 4 March 1985, MD.NC/162/1.

²⁰³ See Ethnic Minority Groups & Business Development, 4 March 1985, MD.NC/162/1, p. 18.



Three Muslim immigrant-run cloth stores in the West End of Newcastle in 1989 (below) and 2000 (above).²⁰⁴



²⁰⁴ West Newcastle Local Studies, Picture Collection.

Support Network be? Why would Newcastle's businessmen want to join? On the whole, this project still gave ethnic minority businessmen little incentive to leave their niche markets and business cultures.

The final criticism concerns the council's assumption that the second and third-generation Muslim immigrants would adhere to the employment patterns of their parents and the council's complacency in encouraging viable alternatives. This is not only witnessed in the 1997 LIA Newcastle project, but also in the council's earlier Black Business Development Project and Ethnic Minority Groups reports. Newcastle's local authority seemed to assume that the younger generations would want to become employed in the family-run business and that they would want assistance from the council in doing so. In many ways, it seems as though these initiatives were destined to fail, overlooking the level, and quality, of inter-familial training.

Nowhere in these archival documents is there mention of Taylor and Davies' apprenticeships or Indian and Pakistani youths who successfully compete with the indigenous population on the local labour market. Instead, it appears as though Newcastle City Council was content to pair immigrant youths with small family-run businesses, apparently encouraging the conformity of the younger generations with established employment patterns. Throughout, the council has shown a bias towards supporting immigrants employed in small businesses, those who were already a part of a support network and demonstrated a suspicion towards external aid and encouragement. This bias has led to the council's neglect of other areas of immigrant employment in which immigrants have received less support from their community and suffered a greater level of discrimination.

Unlike the situation in other British cities,²⁰⁵ immigrants in Newcastle have not historically become concentrated in the "dirty job" sector. They have instead gained economic independence through the establishment of small businesses. Rather than through the initiatives of Newcastle City Council, the success of immigrant businesses has been the result of capital and advice from within the ethnic minority community. In relation to customers and employers, there are no archival documents or historical

²⁰⁵ See Lindsey, 'The Split-Labour Phenomenon', p. 103, Bayliss and Coates, 'West Indians at Work in Nottingham' and Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 98–126.

literature that addresses this issue. Allen, Bentley and Bornat concluded that the majority of their Indian and Pakistani respondents in Bradford depended on an ethnic customer and employee base.²⁰⁶ The three Muslim business-owners interviewed for this study confirmed that this was also the case in Newcastle's West End.²⁰⁷

In his work on the coloured worker in British industry, Wright terms economic integration as taking place only when ethnic workers were dispersed throughout industry, vertically and horizontally.²⁰⁸ If this same definition were used in relation to Newcastle, one would have to conclude that the preponderance of ethnic minority businesses signifies a lack of economic integration. Newcastle's Muslim immigrants were not distributed throughout the local economy or its various facets. Instead, although there is a scattering of Muslim immigrant businesses throughout Newcastle's central business district, the main concentration is located in the city's West End. However, it could be suggested that this uneven distribution of ethnic minority businesses to the West End was not due so much to a lack of economic integration, but more as a reaction to market forces. It is the West End with its burgeoning student and white working class population that often forms the foundation for Indian take-aways and Pakistani cornershops.

This demonstrates an entrepreneurial spirit amongst ethnic minorities, which has often been misunderstood amongst historians.²⁰⁹ It has often been the subtle entities of family and friendship ties embodied by a moral-cultural economy of obligation amongst immigrants, rather than the initiatives of the council, which have defined the world of the ethnic minority businessman. Though not unique to Newcastle, such ties and cultural-economic association have been seen throughout the Western world amongst immigrant communities to which, as will later be discussed, Bremen is also no exception. The

²⁰⁶ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*, pp. 264 & 267.

²⁰⁷ These interviews took place on 02/12/2004, 07/02/2005 and 05/03/2005. Two of the interviewees were Pakistani males and one was an Indian female. The three businesses concerned are a *Halal* food-store, a corner shop and a material store. The three interviewees agreed to the interviews as long as they were not recorded and they could remain anonymous.

²⁰⁸ Wright, *The Coloured Worker in British Industry*, p. 226.

²⁰⁹ See Aldrich, Cater, Jones and McEvoy, 'Business Development and Self-Segregation', Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration* and J. Cater, T. Jones and D. McEvoy, *The Institutional Ghetto: The Case of Asians in Bradford*, Unpublished Paper Delivered to the Institute of British Geographers Annual Conference (Hull, 1978).

misunderstanding of ethnic minority employment needs by Newcastle City Council encourages the evaluation of its performance as an employer of immigrants.

Segregation at the Civic Centre: The Council as an Employer.

It is necessary to provide an analysis of how Newcastle City Council performs as an employer of the city's Muslim immigrants for three reasons. Firstly, it is essential to examine how the local council, the institution that implements policies and measures concerning the local immigrant community, race relations and equal opportunities, itself treats its immigrant employees. Secondly, this section is particularly relevant because, unlike regarding ethnic minority businesses, this employment trait does not feature amongst Muslim immigrants in Bremen. This factor in itself could be an indicator of the different levels of integration each city's respective Muslim immigrant community has reached within the employment sector.

The third reason is that, during the 1980s, it was realised that, contrary to other British cities, the council did not act as a major employer of ethnic minorities in Newcastle. Birmingham and Leicester, for example, had an excellent reputation during the 1980s for the manner in which they approached equal opportunities, both having moved beyond a mere adoption of equal opportunity policies. Leicester City Council established a group of equality targets, and Birmingham City Council introduced a training program for personnel staff involved in recruitment and selection that was to run every six months.²¹⁰ During the mid 1980s, as a result of the Race Relations Act 1976 and the fact that other councils around Britain had taken such initiative, the Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee decided to assess how Newcastle City Council performed as an employer of members of the city's immigrant community. Its findings were collected and documented in a March 1988 report entitled *Employment and Black People*.²¹¹

The first observation made by the committee was that Newcastle City Council did not employ a sufficient number of members of Newcastle's ethnic minorities. In June

²¹⁰ Local Government & Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 6 August 1987-16 March 1988, *Employment and Black People*, March 1988, MD.NC/162/3, Tyne & Wear Archives Service, p. 16.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

1986, the council employed an estimated 18,000 people, of which 102 (less than 1%) were of ethnic minority origin. At the time, circa 4% of the city's population belonged to an ethnic minority. If these immigrant communities had been adequately represented within the council's workforce, at least 720 employees would have belonged to an ethnic minority.²¹² According to the committee, a major factor contributing to this deficit was the low number of applications for council posts from members of the immigrant community. During the early 1980s, measures were introduced by the council in order to improve the situation. Jobs were advertised in mosques, Muslim community centres, in shops owned by members of the immigrant community in the West End and even through the ethnic media. Furthermore, the notion that the council was an equal opportunity employer was repeatedly reinforced. By the end of the 1980s, however, these steps had not encouraged applications from ethnic minorities.²¹³

A possible reason for this could have been the council's unpopularity as an employer amongst the immigrant community due to the experiences of those already working there. At the end of 1987, a questionnaire was distributed around the council's offices. It was to be completed by members of the city's immigrant community and they were to state how they, as ethnic minority employees, were treated by the council. A few of them read as follows:

'As a black worker, I have to work twice as hard, be twice as good at what I do, never make mistakes and know everything there is to know about all the minority ethnic communities.'

'They don't expect black people to work for the council. Several times I have been stopped and told this service is for staff only.'

'As a worker, I have to frequently pop in and out of the Civic Centre heading for various departments. Everyone assumes that you are heading for the 8th floor (Ethnic Minority team). I wonder why?! There are very few black people working for the council. I have known quite a few people apply for jobs who are eligible for the posts, but have never been appointed... We're on the roads

²¹² Ibid., p. 18.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 18.

ourselves, deep down, knowing that we're never going to be accepted as workers.'²¹⁴

As a result of this negative feedback, the council decided to conduct a small-scale opinion survey involving 25 people from Newcastle's immigrant community. The respondents included 5 men and 20 women between the ages of 19 and 60 years. The purpose of the survey was to establish how the city's immigrants viewed the council as an employer of ethnic minorities. It covered the interviewees' knowledge of the council's Equal Opportunity Policy, and those respondents who had previously applied for jobs at the council commented on their experiences. According to the report, all the people interviewed were aware of the council's Equal Opportunity Policy, but did not feel that this policy was reflected in the council's workforce and were therefore cynical about its implementation. Furthermore, they all indicated that, because there were so few coloured people working for the council, they believed that white employees were preferred.²¹⁵

The council felt that these findings needed to be acted upon and, in March 1988, introduced six measures that were designed to increase the number of ethnic minorities applying for employment within the council. Firstly, all employment adverts were to clearly state that the council welcomed applicants from all ethnic backgrounds. Secondly, there was to be much more advertising through the ethnic minority press and small shops in the West End. Thirdly, a greater recognition was to be given to educational qualifications obtained outside Britain. Fourthly, qualifications that were deemed unnecessary for a council position were no longer to be required. Fifthly, careers officers were to actively encourage youths from ethnic minorities to apply for work at the council. Lastly, the council was to offer training sessions in the English language for those given jobs whose English was not yet fluent.²¹⁶

There are, unfortunately, no surviving documents that provide an insight into how effective these six measures were. There are, however, some available statistics as Newcastle City Council is under legal duty to monitor its workforce by ethnic group and to grant the public access to the figures. The last figures given are those for the year 2004/2005. During this work-year, the council employed 15,423 people, of whom 287

²¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 21.

(1.86%) fell under the description “Asian or Asian British”.²¹⁷ Despite the fact that these figures show that Newcastle’s Asian or Asian British population, which constitutes circa 4% of the city’s population, is underrepresented in the council’s workforce, there were more Asians or British Asians employed than there were members of any other ethnic minority. The Chinese and Black or British Black, for example, constituted 0.3% and 0.27% of the council’s workforce respectively.²¹⁸ This does, however, correlate with the fact that Newcastle’s Chinese and Black or British Black communities are smaller in size and, during the mid-year estimates of 2005, stood at 0.7% and 0.4% respectively.²¹⁹ Birmingham, a city that is just under 20% Asian, is home to a council whose 2005/2006 workforce was over 11% Asian.²²⁰ Bradford, a city just under 19% Asian, has a council whose 2005/2006 workforce was approximately 10% Asian.²²¹ Nottingham, a city with a much smaller immigrant population that constitutes 6.5% of the population, is home to a council whose 2006 workforce was 4.13% Asian.²²²

Although none of these city councils’ workforces are constituted of sufficient Asians to adequately represent their respective city’s Asian population, they all nevertheless fare better than that of Newcastle. Furthermore, it would appear that this was not due to a lack of applications from the Asian community. In the 1988 document, *Employment and Black People*, it was stated that so few members of ethnic minorities were employed by the council because few of them applied for available posts. However, judging from the statistics available for 2004, it would appear then this is not the case. During this work-year, 3.73% of all applications were from Asian or Asian British applicants, a figure close to the estimated 4% of Asians that constitute Newcastle’s population.

During the following work-year, however, only 1.86% of the council’s workers fell under this ethnic group. For the category “white”, these figures stood at 92.79% and

²¹⁷ <http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/core.nsf/a/wemdata4> The category “Asian or Asian British” consists of Asian or Asian British – Indian, Asian or Asian British – Pakistani, Asian or Asian British – Bangladeshi and Asian or Asian British – Other (Consulted March 2007).

²¹⁸ <http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/core.nsf/a/wemdata4> (Consulted March 2007).

²¹⁹ <http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/core.nsf/a/population?opendocument#ethnicity> (Consulted March 2007).

²²⁰ http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/Media?MEDIA_ID=149282 (Consulted March 2007).

²²¹ <http://www.bradford.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/2F8AF344-66FF-49BF-BFE7-DAF415112E7A/0/CorporateAnalysisApril2005toMarch2006.pdf> (Consulted March 2007).

²²² http://www.nottinghamcity.gov.uk/ncc_workforce_audit_as_of_31_march_2006.xls (Consulted March 2007).

96.87% respectively.²²³ As can be seen, the percentage of “white” council workers was greater the following year than the percentage of “white” applicants. On the contrary, the percentage of Asian or Asian British workers was smaller than the percentage of applicants from the same ethnic group. In other words, not only does the number of Asian or British Asian applicants not adequately represent the size of Newcastle’s Asian community, but the number of Asian council workers does not adequately represent the number of Asian applicants.

Though this hypothesis seems plausible, one must be cautious of using vague and adaptable notions, such as an employee’s ethnicity. Such entities could fluctuate, not only between generations, depending on the level of integration between first and second-generation immigrants, but also could be tailored to audience. For example, the second-generation Muslim youth may define themselves as British as they could feel a greater level of integration than their ethnic predecessors or, as has been seen, the council has been viewed as institutionally racist by immigrant workers, applicants therefore being encouraged to refer to themselves as “British”.

Newcastle City Council’s workforce may not represent the city’s Muslim immigrant community as adequately as those of other British cities, but when put in context with the situation in Bremen, the mere fact that some of Newcastle’s Muslim immigrants work for the local authority is itself a sign of economic integration. This possibly resulted from many New Commonwealth immigrants having a knowledge of British history, the English language and the British education system upon arrival.²²⁴ Turkish immigrants in Bremen, on the other hand, having arrived as guest-workers with no knowledge of the German language or culture, and without long-term settlement having been an immediate certainty, were sceptical of themselves, their family members or friends, ever working for the local government.²²⁵

It cannot be denied that the immigration to Britain and Germany, which resulted from the relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) British immigration policy and the guest-worker rotation system respectively, has had a vast impact on the economic

²²³ <http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/core.nsf/a/wemdata4> (Consulted March 2007).

²²⁴ See Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, p. 9.

²²⁵ Based on five interviews conducted between 02/02/2006 and 27/06/2006. All interviews were with first and second-generation Turkish male immigrants who wished to remain anonymous and that the interviews were not recorded.

performance of Muslim immigrants in both countries. Those in Newcastle may not have become fully economically integrated as is shown both in the preponderance of small businesses and their under-representation in the council's workforce but, on the whole, they have achieved a certain economic success. It would appear that Newcastle has entered an era in which immigrant youths no longer compete for the same jobs as their indigenous counterparts, are no longer allocated apprenticeships, and that the North East's reputation as a welcoming host no longer has a positive effect on Newcastle's immigrants' positions within the local labour market, if indeed it ever did. However, regardless of the hardships that Newcastle's Muslim immigrants may have endured as a result of the region's economic structural shift, discrimination or perhaps even their own cultural, linguistic and religious customs, they have not suffered the consequences of Germany's labour rotation system and the creation of what Herbert terms 'a reserve labour army'.²²⁶

From Ankara to the Anvil.

The economic experiences of Bremen's Muslim immigrants began, naturally, with their recruitment as guest-workers during the early 1960s. Starting in 1955, recruitment agreements were signed with eight countries as a result of West Germany's post-war economic miracle. At first, there was a belief that this rotation system would benefit the German companies involved, the guest-workers themselves, and the recruitment countries.²²⁷ However, circa forty years later, there is a bountiful historiography that not only addresses the guest-worker phenomenon and its consequences, but also depicts the formation of a minority group that has become segregated from mainstream society as a result of political, ethno-cultural, socioeconomic, linguistic and religious characteristics.²²⁸

²²⁶ Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 211.

²²⁷ See Barbieri Jr., *Ethics of Citizenship*, p. 28, and Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 210.

²²⁸ See Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?*, Dohse, *Ausländische Arbeiter und bürgerlicher Stadt*, Castles, *Migrant Workers and the Transformation of Western Societies*, Schöneberg, *Gestern Gastarbeiter, morgen Minderheit*, Heckmann, *Die Bundesrepublik: Ein Einwanderungsland?*, Korte, *Cultural Identity and Structural Marginalisation of Migrant Workers*, Bausinger, *Ausländer, Inländer*, Esser and Friedrichs, *Generation und Identität*, Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and*

The experiences of foreign workers in Germany have been well documented in *Gastarbeiterliteratur* (guest-worker literature).²²⁹ Dal's novel, *Wenn Ali die Glocken läuten hört* (When Ali Hears the Bells Ring),²³⁰ is set amongst Turkish workers in Cologne during a strike at the local Ford factory. It addresses isolation, confusion, prejudice, racism, and the everyday experiences of working for a German company where one is considered nothing more than a temporary supply of manpower. Similarly, in *Ganz unten* (Lowest of the Low),²³¹ Wallraff tells the story of the Turkish migrant Ali's fight for survival at the very bottom of the German employment and social ladder. He speaks of alienation and segregation at the workplace, and provides a blueprint for the customary experiences of Turkish guest-workers who find themselves stranded *ganz unten*. There are, however, few pieces of literature that portray the every-day experiences of guest-workers in Germany more adequately than the historian Herbert, who draws upon personal accounts, archival materials and policy papers.²³² The historiography has clearly established that, no matter whether the factory in question is that of Ford in Cologne, that of Opel in Rüsselsheim or that of Mercedes in Stuttgart, the story told remains the same. It is that of a young male who, having left his family back in his homeland, finds himself confined to an unskilled workforce where discrimination and isolation become part of the daily routine.

It is with these accounts in mind that the experiences of Turkish guest-workers in Bremen are assessed. The two companies in question are AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan, not automobile companies, but shipbuilding companies, a reflection of Bremen's role as a port. The report used to depict the experiences of Turkish guest-workers at AG Weser, 'Merhaba AG Weser!', was compiled by students at the Kippenberg Grammar School in Bremen and it won fourth prize in the federal president's annual history essay

Twentieth Century Germany, Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, Rosenmüller, *Probleme der ausländischen Arbeitskräfte in der Bundesrepublik* and Green, *The Politics of Exclusion*.

²²⁹ See F. Biondi, *Im neuen Land* (Bremen, 1980), F. Biondi, *Zwischen Fabrik und Bahnhof* (Bremen, 1981), H. Bektas, *Das Unsichtbare sagen! Prosa und Lyrik aus dem Alltag des Gastarbeiters* (Kiel, 1983), G. Dal, *Wenn Ali die Glocken läuten hört* (Berlin, 1979), A. Özakin, 'Ali hinter den Spiegeln', *Literatur konkret* 11 (1986/1987), pp. 6-9, G. Dal, *Europastraße 5* (Hamburg, 1981) and G. Wallraff, *Ganz unten* (Cologne, 1995).

²³⁰ Dal, *Wenn Ali die Glocken läuten hört*.

²³¹ Wallraff, *Ganz unten*.

²³² Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*.

competition.²³³ It includes the personal experiences of three Turkish men who worked at the company during the 1960s and 1970s. Documents pertaining to the companies themselves are not available and, therefore, information such as the number of Turkish workers employed during any given year, steps and measures taken in relation to Turkish employees and the incorporation of foreign workers from the viewpoint of the German employers are unobtainable.

However, combined with interviews conducted in Bremen with other former AG Weser employees and documents that detail the experiences of Turks employed at Bremer Vulkan, the Merhaba document provides an in-depth account of the every-day lives of these guest-workers whilst employed in Bremen on temporary recruitment contracts. The initial experiences upon arriving in Bremen, in many ways, have since determined the city's Muslim immigrants' positions in the local labour market. By starting with the recruitment of guest-workers to Bremen via independent companies and detailing their employment patterns through to the present day, this work will add to the existing historiography by considering more than the mere attainment of capital and will determine the impact the Turkish immigrants' employment experiences have had on their overall levels of integration.²³⁴

Bremen's need to recruit foreign labour during the onset of the economic miracle from the 1950s onwards mirrored that of other major German cities and, by 1961, there were more vacancies in the city than there were unemployed.²³⁵ AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan suffered from this labour shortage more than other companies as much of the indigenous population refused to work in the shipyards. For the most part, the work took place in small, dark, dirty, noisy and poorly ventilated rooms in which labourers worked individually and had very little contact with their comrades. Furthermore, the pay was low, the workers were often exploited and, due to the nature of the work, there were numerous health risks involved. The hazards and dangers surrounding work in the shipbuilding industry are well documented. Some of those raised include the high number of accidents and fatalities, the lack of protection offered to shipyard workers by the law,

²³³ Merhaba AG Weser!, 2002/2003, Zd. 582.

²³⁴ See Castles, *Here for Good*, Wilpert, 'Work and the Second Generation', Limage, 'Economic Recession and Migrant/Minority Youth', Faist, 'From School to Work' and European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, *Vocational Training of Young Migrants*.

²³⁵ Merhaba AG Weser!, 2002/2003, Zd. 582, p. 3.

the psychological effect that such accidents and work can have on the workers and the isolation and poor working conditions often endured.²³⁶ It is clear why Germans did not wish to fill these jobs.

Furthermore, this factor marks a clear difference with the situation of Muslim immigrants in Newcastle. Whilst Newcastle's immigrants have differed from those in other major British cities because they have historically never become concentrated in the "dirty job" sector, those in Bremen have stood apart from those in other German cities due to their concentration in these lowly positions. As a consequence of this labour shortage, AG Weser recruited its first group of guest-workers from Turkey in April 1962. The case study of AG Weser is extremely relevant because it was not only the largest employer of guest-workers in Bremen, but also in the entire north of Germany.²³⁷

In January 1973, there were circa 17,000 guest-workers in Bremen.²³⁸ Of these, 7,000 worked for AG Weser, more than for any other company. The remainder worked for other local companies, such as the shipbuilding company, Bremer Vulkan, the automobile manufacturers, Borgward-Gruppe, and the textile works, Bremer Wollkämmerei. Bremer Vulkan employed the second largest group of guest-workers which, in January 1973, stood at just under 2,000.²³⁹ This section will focus upon Bremen's shipbuilding industry due to it being a pillar of the local economy and central to the regions' economic make-up.

Mr. Demirag, a Turkish guest-worker who arrived in 1964 in Bremen to work for AG Weser describes what happened upon arriving:

Upon arriving at Bremen's main train station early on a Friday morning, his group of guest-workers was picked up and taken to the guesthouse and given breakfast. Then they were taken to the living barracks and shown their rooms. They were greeted joyfully by

²³⁶ See G. Lehmann-Felskowski, *The Shipbuilding Industry of Germany* (London, 1904) and P. Kuckuk, *Spanten und Sektionen: Werften und Schiffbau in Bremen und der Unterweserregion im 20. Jahrhundert* (Bremen, 1988).

²³⁷ See Erst geheuert, dann gefeuert: Türkische Elektro-Schweißer auf der Werft AG-Weser in Bremen. Sechs Schicksale 1973 bis 1983, Zd-582.2004/05(5), Staatsarchiv Bremen, p. 17.

²³⁸ See Bremische Bürgerschaft Landtag 8. Wahlperiode, Drucksache 8/600, Antwort des Senats zur Anfrage der Fraktion der CDU vom 26. Juni 1973 (Drs.8/566): Ausländische Arbeitnehmer, 12.09.1973, Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek, p. 1.

²³⁹ See Erst geheuert, dann gefeuert, Zd-582.2004/05(5), pp. 61–69.

other Turkish workers who were happy to see fellow countrymen. On the weekend, they were driven to the town district of Gröpelingen where they were shown the market and the shops...After the weekend, they had their first experience working for AG Weser. Mr Demirag was very impressed as he had never seen such a big factory in his life.²⁴⁰

It is noteworthy that, just from this brief description of a group of Turkish guest-workers arriving in Bremen, already such a picture of segregation emerges. This account depicts a group of Turkish workers who travelled to Bremen together and were taken directly to the company's barracks where they were greeted by fellow Turks with whom they were to live. Furthermore, the fact that they were not taken into the centre of Bremen, but rather merely to the centre of Gröpelingen, a district in the West End, is a further indication of their isolation from the outset. The vast importance and impact of this initial segregation is also witnessed in the next chapter on housing in which the role that Gröpelingen plays as a residential centre for Bremen's Muslim immigrants is further depicted.

The manner in which these early guest-workers arrived and their experiences of the first few days are in no way particular to Bremen. Biondi writes in detail about this process in *Zwischen Fabrik und Bahnhof* (Between the Factory and the Train Station).²⁴¹ Herbert and Panayi also specify such conditions of isolation.²⁴² Mr. Demirag's description of the experiences of a group of Turkish men arriving in Bremen is confirmation of how the overarching German guest-worker rotation system determined the destiny of any given group of Turkish workers on a local level. Furthermore, it marks a stark difference with the experiences of Muslim immigrants upon arrival in Newcastle. Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in Newcastle have indeed historically been economically segregated from the indigenous population, but this has been the result of the immigrant community's choice, not a rigid system importing, what Rist terms, 'an

²⁴⁰ Merhaba AG Weser!, 2002/2003, Zd. 582, pp. 11-12.

²⁴¹ Biondi, *Zwischen Fabrik und Bahnhof*.

²⁴² Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 226 and Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, pp. 220-221.

expendable manpower supply'.²⁴³

The majority of Turkish guest-workers employed at AG Weser during the 1960s and 1970s worked as electric welders. For the most part, they had not been employed in this type of manual work before arriving in Bremen. Upon starting work, the first few months were spent being taught welding skills, usually by an existing Turkish guest-worker. Once the necessary skills had been acquired, they were left to work independently in those dark, dirty and noisy conditions previously mentioned. By 1970, AG Weser had begun to train men in Turkey before they set out on their journey to Bremen. This scheme proved both efficient and effective in reducing company costs, due to the Turkish trainees remaining unpaid whilst in Turkey, and enabling worker efficiency to be monitored before arrival in Bremen.²⁴⁴

This same tactic was implemented by companies around Germany during the late 1960s and early 1970s.²⁴⁵ This concentration of Turkish guest-workers in unskilled industrial jobs was a common trait throughout Germany. They received lower wages, had more accidents in the workplace, and their work tended to be heavy or dirty, and required low worker-qualification levels. As in Bremen, Turkish workers in other cities were often promoted from unskilled to semi-skilled jobs once they had been working at the company for a certain amount of time.²⁴⁶

One of the key observations made in the Merhaba document by the former Turkish employees of AG Weser was that of the health risks their work involved. Mr. Dirlik, a Turkish guest-worker who was employed at the company during the mid-1960s, recounts how 'he welded with his group in cramped, poorly ventilated, small rooms...The poor ventilation was unpleasant due to the fumes as a result of welding metal...Workers who inhaled these fumes over long periods of time risked chronic bronchitis. Worse was the danger of cancer...All workers were given a litre of milk daily

²⁴³ Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 114.

²⁴⁴ Merhaba AG Weser!, 2002/2003, Zd. 582, pp. 12-13.

²⁴⁵ See M. Borris, *Les Étrangers à Stuttgart* (Marseille, 1977), p. 90.

²⁴⁶ See Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 216, J. Fijalkowski, 'Gastarbeiter als industrielle Reservearmee? Zur Bedeutung der Arbeitsimmigration für die wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 24 (1984), p. 422, Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, *Anwerbung, Vermittlung, Beschäftigung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer: Erfahrungsbericht 1963* (Nuremberg, 1964), pp. 6 & 26 and S. Heckmann, *Die Bundesrepublik – ein Einwanderungsland? Zur Sociologie der Gastarbeiterbevölkerung als Einwandererminorität* (Stuttgart, 1981), p. 185.

to fight the poisoning...His boss showed no consideration towards the workers...You were not allowed to go outside for fresh air...It was always very cold in the winter and, as a result, Mr Dirlik contracted chronic bronchitis.'²⁴⁷

This account of the health risks involved when working at the AG Weser shipyard is similar to Wallraff's description of the working conditions Turkish guest-workers faced at an asbestos factory in Glinde, near Hamburg. He explains how the safety regulations were not enforced, that sometimes even face masks were not worn and how, as a result, several Turkish workers had severe bronchial and lung damage after working there for as little as six months.²⁴⁸ Again, it appears as though, despite the work carried out by Turkish guest-workers in Bremen being dictated by the city's maritime history, the overall employment experiences of any given Turkish guest-worker were similar to those of other areas of Germany. Furthermore, as was the case with Newcastle, these experiences were not in any way altered by Bremen's strong sense of regional identity.²⁴⁹

The experiences of Turkish guest-workers in Bremen conformed to the national patterns of recruitment, poor working conditions and low wages. Despite the fact that the 1961 worker-recruitment agreement between Germany and Turkey stated that Turkish workers would receive the same rights and be treated equally alongside their German counterparts, this was often not reflected in their wages.²⁵⁰ At AG Weser, Turkish guest-workers were mostly concentrated in the lowest wage bracket and, although it could never be proven, the Turkish workers believed that they were getting paid less than German workers doing the same job.

As is documented in Merhaba, Mr. Karan and Mr. Demirag, two Turkish workers with identical roles, earned 120 DM and 160 DM per month respectively in 1965. Mr. Dirlik, a third Turkish guest-worker who held the same position in 1965, stated that he earned 7 DM an hour. He reports how his wage decreased every few months because his German boss insisted that he was getting old and was no longer able to carry out as much

²⁴⁷ Merhaba AG Weser!, 2002/2003, Zd. 582, p. 13.

²⁴⁸ Wallraff, *Lowest of the Low* (London, 1988), p. 65.

²⁴⁹ See Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-nineteenth Century Bremen', Buse, 'Urban and National Identity' and Gutmann, *Bremen Bremerhaven*.

²⁵⁰ See Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 216, Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 112 and W. Bodenbender, *Zwischenbilanz der Ausländerpolitik*, Paper presented at the conference entitled *Bildungsprobleme und Zukunftserwartungen der Kinder türkischer Gastarbeiter* (Munich, 1976), pp. 1-3.

manual labour. Despite this claim, however, his workload never changed. No matter how many times they asked their German counterparts how much they earned, they were never told.²⁵¹ Although the wages for AG Weser's German employees of this period are not available, it nevertheless quickly becomes apparent the extent to which the company's Turkish workers were disadvantaged when comparing their wages to the German average. According to Wanik, the average annual wage within the industry sector stood at DM 8,693 in 1960.²⁵² Yet in 1965, Mr. Karan and Mr. Demirag were earning only DM 1,440 and DM 1,920 per year, respectively. The contrast with Newcastle is again striking. Whilst Bremen's Muslim immigrants' wages were dictated by an inherently discriminatory temporary labour recruitment process, many of Newcastle's immigrants were benefiting from self-employment.

It quickly becomes apparent how this type of employment did not promote integration. The situation, in which Turkish guest-workers worked and lived, completely segregated from the city's indigenous population and enduring dark and dirty conditions, did not give them a chance to learn about their adopted local society. An example is that speaking German in their everyday lives was not a requirement. Mr. Karan explains how, for the first wave of guest-workers who arrived in 1962, it was imperative that they learn the German language and socialise with their German comrades. However, as more and more Turks arrived to work at the shipyard, the latest recruits largely depended on the German language skills of their predecessors.²⁵³ There is no doubt that this isolation was only further enhanced by their accommodation conditions. A more in-depth account of their barrack housing at AG Weser and the impact that this had on their overall integration will be provided in the next chapter. This description accurately represents what was the case in shipyards, factories and on assembly lines around Germany. A very similar account of segregation is provided for Stuttgart, a city in which 93.3% of guest-workers lived in accommodation provided by the companies they worked for.²⁵⁴

With regards to AG Weser, it is apparent that the experiences of Turkish guest-workers adhere to the established historiography and *Gastarbeiterliteratur* in that what

²⁵¹ Merhaba AG Weser!, 2002/2003, Zd. 582, p. 14.

²⁵² B. Wanik, 'The Development of Wages of German Industrial Corporations', *The Journal of Industrial Economics* 33 (1984), p. 114.

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 16.

²⁵⁴ See Borris, *Les Étrangers à Stuttgart*, p. 129.

emerges is a story of isolation and extremely poor working conditions. The archival documents demonstrate that these accounts from former AG Weser employees were representative of all shipbuilding companies in Bremen and, hence, it is not necessary to provide much detail about Bremer Vulkan. However, there is one document that further emphasises the extent to which Turkish guest-workers were isolated from the local indigenous society.²⁵⁵ It is a letter that was written by a Turkish worker at the company on 6 May 1975. The letter, translated from imperfect German, addresses the manner in which the Turkish guest-workers were treated by the barracks' German assistant.²⁵⁶ Some of it reads as follows:

...The common room is being used as a storeroom where the interpreter keeps small pieces of furniture and other pieces of rubbish that he tries to sell to Turkish families. Also, he has installed a small fridge for drinks. We are forced to buy all our food from him, especially bread and meat, although his bread doesn't taste good and his meat is expensive and isn't clean or fresh. He doesn't leave us alone. He comes into our rooms at night and makes sure that what bread we have has been bought from him. On the weekends, when he sells meat, he spies on us in the kitchen when we roast our meat. If he sees that we have meat that hasn't been bought from him, he threatens us and says that, if we don't buy our products from him, he will throw us out of the barracks and won't help us if we need him as an interpreter or a caretaker...I wish to remain anonymous because, as a resident, I am scared of him. We can't take this cruelty anymore and hope this letter helps...²⁵⁷

The fact that there is no record of whether this letter was read, answered or whether any type of action was ever taken is almost irrelevant. This letter, combined with the testimonies of former Turkish AG Weser employees, provides the consequences on a

²⁵⁵ One of many loose papers concerning the employment of guest-workers at Bremer Vulkan Akten und Amtsbücher, 7,2121/1-712, Staatsarchiv Bremen.

²⁵⁶ This is a German man whose role it was to assist the guest-workers both in the workplace and in their private lives. His tasks involved helping the guest-workers fill out government documents and ensuring good worker relations.

²⁵⁷ Bremer Vulkan Akten und Amtsbücher, 7,2121/1-712.

local level of Germany's national quest for, what Herbert terms, 'a reserve labour army'.²⁵⁸ The letter was sent anonymously from a Turkish guest-worker to the company. It was found amongst Bremer Vulkan internal company correspondence. Its authorship appears to be genuine, the memo showing no signs of pre-circulation, with poor graphology and written in vulgar German. This letter was deposited at the Staatsarchiv Bremen in May 1979 amongst 5,000 metres of Bremer Vulkan papers following the closure of the company. Due to archival spatial pressures, a representative sample was taken by archivists for retention of which this letter was a part.²⁵⁹ Though in isolation today, this letter could have come alongside many other folios of a similar nature. Even alone, however, this letter illustrates how, despite the fact that Bremen was in desperate need of foreign labour during the post-war years, the Turkish guest-workers were not treated as if this were the case, as they were consistently feeling the effects of a Germany that was insistent that it was not a nation of immigrants.²⁶⁰

From Shipbuilders to Shop-owners.

The 1970s can be seen as a decade of transition for the employment of Bremen's Muslim immigrants. With the decline of companies like AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan, the stringent and restrictive employment patterns of the guest-worker rotation system made way for a more market-orientated employment scenario. Whereas formerly, Turkish guest-workers had been directed to low paid and low skilled employment by the guest-worker system, in the 1970s, they were channelled towards these jobs by market demand. The 1970s therefore witnessed the emergence of the Turkish transport worker, manufacturer and labourer throughout Bremen's economy. There is little doubt that these immigrant employees still suffered discrimination, but this transitional phase witnessed the initial process of Turkish organic integration within the local economy.

The intention of this section is to establish the types of employment in which these Muslim immigrants became concentrated. As will be seen in the next section, the

²⁵⁸ Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 211.

²⁵⁹ Bremer Vulkan Findbuch – Einleitung, 7,2121/X, Staatsarchiv Bremen.

²⁶⁰ See Münz and Ulrich, 'Changing Patterns of Immigration to Germany', p. 65, Booth, *The Migration Process in Britain and West Germany*, p. 111 and Faist, 'How to Define a Foreigner?', p. 51.

desire for self-employment has proved common amongst Turkish immigrants in Bremen in a similar manner to amongst Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in Newcastle. However, for the vast majority of these immigrants in Bremen, this stage of entrepreneurship could not be realised until the late 1980s and 1990s. These developments will, once again, be put into the German context and comparisons with Newcastle will be drawn.

The archival sources support the notion that the 1970s and 1980s were periods of transition due to a lack of primary material suggesting that semi-permanent employment patterns had not yet been established by the immigrants. It was also the case that the local authority very quickly became concerned with family reunification. This phenomenon was indeed common around the whole of Germany. Amongst Turkish immigrants, the percentage of women increased from 6.8% in 1965 to 26% by 1975.²⁶¹ Furthermore, in 1981, whilst only 17.9% of Germans were under the age of fifteen, this same figure stood at 26.3% amongst foreigners due to family reunification and higher fertility rates.²⁶² The extent to which the foreign population was younger than the German was further illustrated in Berlin where, in 1976, only 211 of 84,415 Turks were over the age of 65.²⁶³

The situation in Bremen was no different and, perhaps, even more visible. One archival report states that more Turks arrived in Bremen as part of the family reunification phenomenon than to any other city in Germany.²⁶⁴ By 1982, 33% of foreigners in the city were under the age of eighteen compared with 19.9% of the German population and only 2.9% were over the age of sixty compared with 13.3% of Germans. Between 1976 and 1978 alone, the city's foreign population increased by 43,000.²⁶⁵ It is not surprising then that the local government's emphasis from the early 1970s through the mid 1980s was primarily on how the city's infrastructure was going to cope with such an influx of foreigners. As a result, the key initiatives during this period focused on the housing and education sectors. The integration of immigrant workers was seen as a

²⁶¹ See N. Abadan-Unat, 'Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women', *International Migration Review* 11 (1977), p. 33.

²⁶² See Castles, *Here for Good*, pp. 100–106.

²⁶³ See G. Mertens and Ü. Ankipar, *Türkische Migrantenfamilien* (Bonn, 1977), p. 92.

²⁶⁴ *Türkische Unternehmer in Bremen und Bremerhaven*, Ai-408, Staatsarchiv Bremen, p. 5.

²⁶⁵ See Bremische Bürgerschaft Landtag 10. Wahlperiode, Drucksache 10/895, Mitteilung des Senats. Fortschreibung der Konzeption zur Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen im Lande Bremen, Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek, p. 5.

process that was intertwined with and, even one that depended on, integration within these two other sectors.²⁶⁶ The policies introduced and the experiences of Muslim immigrants in the housing and education sectors will be detailed in the following two chapters.

This period's economic transition was initiated by the 1973 oil crisis, which prompted the German government to ban further recruitment.²⁶⁷ The results of this national policy were soon witnessed in the measures introduced by Bremen's local authority. A city that, throughout the 1960s, had predominantly been interested in the temporary recruitment of healthy and fit young males, who spent the best working years of their lives in local shipyards,²⁶⁸ now had to address the issue of long-term employment. Bremen's local government reached the conclusion that the number of foreign workers had to be kept to a minimum because of the strain that was being placed on the city's social infrastructure. This was to be achieved by enforcing two measures, which were recorded in a local government pamphlet in September 1973.

Firstly, a foreign worker was not to be allocated work if a German worker could be found for that same job. Secondly, only a foreigner who could provide proof of having long-term accommodation could be hired.²⁶⁹ This is a clear consequence of foreign workers no longer being provided with company accommodation. Although the consequences of these measures are not available in detail, it is known that a substantial proportion of the foreign population in Bremen returned home at the beginning of the 1980s. Many of these had worked for AG Weser, which closed its doors in December 1983, but had been slowly reducing its workforce since the mid to late 1970s. As a result, there were 4,635 unemployed male foreigners in Bremen in 1984 compared with only 305 in 1973.²⁷⁰ Not being able to find other work and faced with unemployment, an estimated 21% of former AG Weser Turkish employees returned to Turkey, hence taking

²⁶⁶ See Fortschreibung, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer*, 12.09.1973, Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek and Bremische Bürgerschaft Landtag 11. Wahlperiode, Drucksache 11/360, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer und ihre Familienangehörigen im Lande Bremen*, 05.03.1985, Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek.

²⁶⁷ See Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, p. 218 and Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 76.

²⁶⁸ See Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, p. 219 and Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 215.

²⁶⁹ See Fortschreibung, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer*, 12.09.1973, pp. 2–4.

²⁷⁰ See *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer und ihre Familienangehörigen im Lande Bremen*, 05.03.1985.

advantage of the inducements offered to them.²⁷¹

These inducements were the result of Germany's 1972 bilateral treaty with Turkey, which created incentives for return migration, such as financial consultancy, education offers and investment support for the establishment of businesses in Turkey.²⁷² In 1983, Germany's Conservative government passed a law under which financial incentives were permitted. Immigrants from recruitment countries could be offered DM 10,500 plus DM 1,500 per child if they were unemployed or in short-term work. In total, only 14,000 guest-workers returned "home" via this scheme, the majority of which were Turkish.²⁷³

As can be seen from these schemes, it was hoped that the number of foreign workers would be kept to a minimum. However, there was also a clear desire to promote the integration of those who were already employed in the city. It was in this pamphlet of September 1973 that Bremen's government expressed discontentment with the guest-worker rotation system. It believed that this process completely overlooked the individual needs of the guest-workers themselves as they were consistently kept at the bottom of the local labour market because they were not in Bremen long enough to either learn the German language or acquire the necessary requirements to attain work of a higher standard.²⁷⁴

Furthermore, at the time, family reunification was welcomed as it was believed that this process would promote the integration of the immigrant workers themselves. Whilst in 1974 Germany's federal government had attempted to strengthen the recruitment ban by not allowing newly arrived wives and family members to seek

²⁷¹ See Erst geheuert, dann gefeuert, Zd-582.2004/05(5), p. 17 and H. Heseler, M. Osterland, B. Roth and U. Walther, *Plant Closure, Local Labour Market and Declining Industry in an Urban Region. The Case of the Shipyard AG Weser in Bremen, FRG* (Bremen, 1985), p. 10. For historiography on return migration from Germany see D. Massey and A. Constant, *Guestworkers of the 1980s and 1990s: Who is Going Back and Who is Staying in Germany?*, Paper Presented at the European Society of Population Economics (2001) and B. Wolbert, *Der getötete Paß. Rückkehr in die Türkei: eine ethnologische Migrationsstudie* (Berlin, 1995).

²⁷² See T. Bauer, B. Dietz, K. Zimmermann and E. Zwintz, 'German Migration: Development, Assimilation, and Labour Market Effects', in K. Zimmermann (ed.), *European Migration. What do we Know?* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 213-214 and M. Frey, 'Direkte und indirekte Rückkehrförderung seitens der Aufnahmeländer – Überblick', in H. Körner and U. Mehrländer (eds.), *Die neue Ausländerpolitik in Europa* (Bonn, 1986).

²⁷³ See Bauer, Dietz, Zimmermann and Zwintz, 'German Migration', p. 214 and Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*, p. 64.

²⁷⁴ Fortschreibung, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer*, 12.09.1973, p. 4.

employment, this was rescinded in 1979 when the notion of integration began to be deemed increasingly important.²⁷⁵ As a consequence of this national mandate, Bremen's government accepted that Turkish male immigrants who were in the city could not be expected to live without their families. As a result, spouses and children under the age of twenty-one were allowed to join the male immigrant workers in Bremen as long as their behaviour conformed to that of "the German way of life" and they secured accommodation that was of an equal standard to that of the indigenous population. As will be discussed in the following chapter, however, this acquisition of housing has historically proved difficult for immigrants in Germany as landlords were often reluctant to rent their properties to immigrant families.²⁷⁶ This is a further example of how integration in the labour market was dependent on the housing sector.

It must be remembered that, although Turkish immigration to Germany was indeed initially spurned by economic factors, by the mid to late 1970s, it was social factors that began to determine the influx of immigrants. In other words, Turkish guest-workers arrived in Bremen during the 1960s as a result of an employment contract, but their families migrated solely for social reasons. Consequently, this section and the next address Muslim immigrants in Bremen of three types. Firstly, those who previously worked for companies like AG Weser or other employers of the initial streams of guest-workers. The second were those who, by the mid to late 1970s and especially by the 1980s, were no longer restricted by guest-worker contracts. This was the result of a sentiment of moral obligation towards guest-workers that emerged amongst Germany's elites. The result were two Constitutional Court cases: the 1973 Arab case that relaxed rules on deportation and the 1978 Indian case that did the same for residence entitlement.²⁷⁷ It was during this period that these Muslim immigrants diversified into other sectors. The third group consists of those who arrived in Bremen during the process of family reunification as dependents of those already in Bremen.

Concerning the employment patterns of Bremen's Muslim immigrants, the 1973 governmental pamphlet highlighted the fact that the city's immigrants were concentrated

²⁷⁵ See B. Marshall, *Europe in Change: The New Germany and Migration in Europe* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 12-13.

²⁷⁶ See Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt', Geiger, 'Ausländer im Ghetto' and Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities'.

²⁷⁷ See Marshall, *Europe in Change*.

in the “dirty sector” of the local labour market. The four sectors in which the majority of Turkish immigrants were employed in were haulage and logistics, transport, services and manufacturing. The pamphlet asserts that immigrants had been allowed to enter these sectors for two reasons. Firstly, the local economy had undergone a structural change, which resulted in the redundancy of many guest-workers employed at companies, such as AG Weser. As a result, the local economy saw many guest-workers jump from the shipbuilding industry to another type of low-skilled work. Secondly, the standard of vocational training being offered to the indigenous population had increased, meaning that many Germans had succeeded in climbing the employment ladder which, in turn, resulted in many openings in these sectors.²⁷⁸

It is necessary to note that during the 1970s and 1980s, Bremen showed the features of a typical “old-industrial” region. As was the case in Newcastle, the city’s economic structural shift caused employment to drop well below the national average. This was a direct result of the termination of industries, such as shipbuilding and steel production.²⁷⁹ Since the first wave of guest-workers arrived in Bremen in the early 1960s, they had been employed at the same companies as German workers. The difference was that, whilst indigenous workers had the luxury of white-collar work at AG Weser, Bremer Vulkan or Bremer Wollkämmerei, Turkish guest-workers were employed in manual labour on the factory floor.²⁸⁰ The decline of heavy industry resulted in the redundancy of Germans and guest-workers alike. Unlike many Muslim immigrants in Newcastle who, as a result of the North East’s economic structural change, ventured into self-employment, those in Bremen, having been restricted by the guest-worker system, did not have the capital foundation to do so and, instead, found themselves competing for the same jobs as Germans on the local labour market.

This distribution of immigrants in Bremen’s labour market was not dissimilar to that elsewhere in Germany. A case study addressing the situation in Stuttgart established

²⁷⁸ Fortschreibung, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer*, 12.09.1973, p. 6.

²⁷⁹ See W. Elsner, ‘Regional Job-Turnover and Industrial Policy. A Note on a Potential Time Pattern of Regional Industrial Policies and Their Job Effects – The Case of the German City-State of Bremen’, *Local Economy* 19 (2004), p. 251.

²⁸⁰ See Bremer Ausschuß für Wirtschaftsforschung, ‘Wirkungen bremischer Wirtschaftsstrukturpolitik 1984–1991’, *Bremer Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftspolitik* 15 (1992), pp. 41–101 and W. Elsner, ‘An Interactive Economic Policy Approach to Manage Structural Change: The Case of Industry Conversion in the German State of Bremen’, *International Review of Applied Economics* 15 (2001), pp. 411–428.

that, during the early to mid 1970s, immigrants were concentrated primarily in the transport sector, the service sector and the construction sector.²⁸¹ The fact that the haulage and logistics sector played such a large role in Bremen, and not in Stuttgart, can be put down to its role as a port. Other studies have demonstrated that, like in Bremen, the manufacturing sector welcomed a large number of foreign workers during this period, many of whom were skilled workers employed in unskilled work.²⁸² This diverges from the situation in Newcastle. Whilst Newcastle was an exception to the British economy in that immigrants were never concentrated in the “dirty job” sector of the local economy, Bremen conformed to the German pattern in that immigrants were. Secondly, the 1973 pamphlet highlighted the fact that a higher level of apprenticeships had been made available to Bremen’s indigenous population during the early 1970s. This marks a clear distinction with Taylor’s Asian respondents of whom, between the years 1962 and 1967, 42% secured apprenticeships compared to 45.5% of Newcastle’s population on the whole.²⁸³

A similarity between Bremen and Newcastle is that many Muslim immigrants were concentrated in the transport sector in both cities. Within this sector, there was a ten-year time lag with Bremen succeeding Newcastle. Whilst Taylor and Davies’ Asian respondents in Newcastle were already employed in the transport sector during the early 1960s,²⁸⁴ this same employment trait did not become prevalent in Bremen until the early 1970s. This was the result of Newcastle’s Muslim immigrant population having the advantage of free labour movement and not having their employment opportunities restricted by the guest-worker rotation system.²⁸⁵ Despite these historical differences, in both cities, immigrant employment within the transport sector demonstrated an unparalleled level of integration within their respective labour markets. Immigrants were working side by side with their native hosts in state-regulated and nationally-uniform employment.

²⁸¹ See Borris, *Les Étrangers à Stuttgart*, p. 135.

²⁸² For Munich see Münscher, ‘The Workday Routines of Turkish Women in Federal Republic of Germany’. For Germany see W. König and W. Müller, ‘Educational Systems and Labour Markets as Determinants of Worklife Mobility in France and West Germany: A Comparison of Men’s Career Mobility, 1965–1970’, *European Sociological Review* 2 (1986), pp. 73–96.

²⁸³ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, p. 178.

²⁸⁴ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 26.

²⁸⁵ For Britain see Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, p. 10 and Parliamentary Debates, Commons (Hansard), Vol. 453 Col. 405, 7, July 1948. For Germany see Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, p. 217 and Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 210.

The transport sector is important, not only because it was an area in which economic integration appears to have taken place, but also because of the ends to which this employment was put. Many Muslim immigrant transport workers in both cities appear to have used their training and capital-accumulation within this sector to then establish small businesses. In Newcastle, this was emphasised by the fact that many of the immigrants working in the local transport sector during the 1960s were in the process of establishing a small business at the same time. It was these businesses that they hoped would provide their sole income in the long-term.²⁸⁶ In Bremen, this same desire for economic independence becomes obvious in the following section.

In leaving the transport sector, Muslim immigrants departed from their hosts' employment patterns as both the North East of England and Bremen have traditionally been heavy industrial areas of factory work (and mining) in which individual entrepreneurialism was not dominant.²⁸⁷ In this sense, Muslim immigrants utilised their integration with the host employment markets to then partially remove themselves once adequate capital for self-employment had been acquired. This also demonstrates how, at this early stage, both cities' immigrant populations were insufficiently large for self-propelling capital accumulation and self-funding which, as has been discussed in relation to Newcastle and will be in relation to Bremen, became so prominent in the 1980s and 1990s.

One major difference between Newcastle and Bremen's immigrant employment within the transport sector is that, in Bremen, this work was undertaken to raise capital to support friends and family back in Turkey, to fund family reunification, and for business foundation in Germany. The former of these acted as a catalyst for the process of family reunification that would enhance Bremen's immigrant population during the mid to late 1970s. In Newcastle, this process had already been permitted by the relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) British immigration policy alongside pre-existing social and cultural links between Britain and the colonies by means of her imperial framework. Regardless of this difference, however, Muslim immigrants in Bremen have increasingly

²⁸⁶ See Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, p. 22.

²⁸⁷ For the North East see J. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* (London, 1932) and D. Levine and K. Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society: Whickham 1560–1765* (Oxford, 1991). For Bremen see H. Brenning, *Bremen Today: A Survey of its History and Economy* (Bremen, 1962) and W. Sauermilch, *Industry in Bremen* (Bremen, 1966).

shown the same tendency to strive for self-employment as those in Newcastle.

The Expansion of Self-Employment.

The emergence of small Muslim immigrant-owned businesses in Bremen from the mid-1980s onwards should not be surprising considering that the historiography shows that this desire for business ownership is a common trait amongst immigrant communities throughout the Western world.²⁸⁸ Furthermore, although not as bountiful as that for Britain, historical literature concerning immigrant entrepreneurship in Germany is well established.²⁸⁹ There is little doubt that the different periods in which Muslim immigrants in Britain and Germany started establishing small businesses is a direct result of their Commonwealth and guest-worker immigrant statuses. As has been previously discussed, immigrants in Britain had started to become self-employed in large numbers by the mid-1970s. Allen, Bentley and Bornat's work depicts a high level of self-employment amongst Bradford's Indian and Pakistani immigrants in 1977 and the Black Business Development Project provides an analysis of ethnic minority businesses that were established in Newcastle by 1981.²⁹⁰

This establishment of small businesses during the 1960s and 1970s by Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in Britain was the result of two factors. Firstly, these Commonwealth immigrants were aware from arrival that they were settling for the long-term. Secondly, because they did not suffer the restrictive employment conditions of the guest-worker rotation system, but instead had immediate access to the British free labour market economy, they were able to either establish a business immediately or once capital had been accumulated. As this was not the case in Bremen, or indeed in the rest of

²⁸⁸ For Canada see Mata and Pendakur, 'Immigration, Labor Force Integration and the Pursuit of Self-Employment'. For the US see Papademetriou, *The Effects of Immigration*. For Europe see Morokvasic, 'Roads to Independence'.

²⁸⁹ See Boyes and Huneke, *Is it Easier to be a Turk in Berlin or a Pakistani in Bradford?*, p. 21, N. Fertala, 'A Study of Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Upper Bavaria', *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business* 4 (2006), pp. 179–206, F. Hillman, 'A Look at the "Hidden Side": Turkish Women in Berlin's Ethnic Labour Market', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23 (1999), pp. 267–282 and A. Döse, 'Selbständigkeit im Schnittpunkt neuer Bedingungen der Erwerbsarbeit', in A. Döse, A. Höland, P. Schallhöfer and T. Roethe (eds.), *Neue Formen und Bedingungen der Erwerbsarbeit in Europa* (Baden-Baden, 1994).

²⁹⁰ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration* and Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1.

Germany, such immigrant businesses did not start emerging until the mid-1980s. Since then, however, there has been a vast increase in the number of these businesses.

According to a 2001 work by the Essen Zentrum für Türkeistudien (Centre for Turkish Studies), the number of self-employed Turkish immigrants in Germany rose from 22,000 to 59,500 (170%) between 1985 and 2000.²⁹¹ As with Newcastle, archival documents addressing the employment of Bremen's Muslim immigrants from the mid-1980s onwards have focused solely on their concentration in small businesses. This correlates with the German historiography and that pertaining to immigrant communities in Newcastle and the Western world.

The businesses, however, differed markedly from those in Newcastle. During the mid-1980s and the early 1990s, Turkish immigrant businesses in Bremen were concentrated in the retail and catering trades as those in Newcastle have historically been. However, from the mid-1990s onwards, these businesses have diversified into the media, telecommunications and information technology sectors. When asked why this has been the case, the Turkish respondents of the 2001 survey stated that their former businesses had not been attracting a German clientele and that, without one, they were unprofitable.²⁹²

This diversification coincides with what appears to be the case in other major German cities in that what is considered "Turkish" is unmarketable. In the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, restaurants owned by Turkish immigrants have started serving Italian food and cocktails, stating that 'German diners lack the stomach for Turkish cuisine.'²⁹³ In Upper Bavaria, a 2007 study has shown that the largest proportion (24.9%) of immigrant-run businesses were concentrated in the services sector. This was followed by 24.5% in the retail industry and 16.2% in the catering and hotels sector.²⁹⁴

The fact that Turkish immigrants are either selling non-Turkish foods in their restaurants or diversifying into other sectors shows the lack of commercial viability for the sale of Turkish foodstuffs and, therefore, the German host community's cultural repulsion of these. What this Turkish diversification illustrates, however, is their

²⁹¹ Zentrum für Türkeistudien, *Die ökonomische Dimension der türkischen Selbstständigen in Deutschland und der Europäischen Union* (Essen, 2001), p. 117.

²⁹² Ibid., p. 117.

²⁹³ Boyes and Huneke, *Is it Easier to be a Turk in Berlin or a Pakistani in Bradford?*, p. 21.

²⁹⁴ See Fertala, 'A Study of Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Upper Bavaria', p. 191.

commercial awareness and economic integration into the German tertiary sector. Their choice of Italian cuisine or low-market technology retail is neither dictated by their own ethnic origins or the culture of the host society, but by German market demands. In comparison, Newcastle's Muslim immigrant population has benefited from an Anglo-Asian cultural osmosis where influences have been mixed to create an Asian-inspired and English-influenced saleable product. An example of this Anglo-Asian cultural osmosis is the Balti "curry", a dish served in Indian and Pakistani restaurants that has been invented purely for the British customer.

Germany is of course home to the *döner kebab*, a food that has been referred to as a 'made in Germany "Turkish speciality"'.²⁹⁵ Although, as with the Balti curry in Britain, the kebab is a dish that was devised in order to satisfy the taste buds of the host society, it has been argued that it was the "creation" of an immigrant community in comparably far less favourable circumstances. Mushaben suggests that kebab stands might have sprung up around the Kreuzberg district of Berlin during the early to mid-1970s merely because of the job losses following the oil crisis. She argues that the partaking in such business ventures was no more than the more welcome alternative to returning to Turkey.²⁹⁶ The appearance of the kebab in Germany during the 1970s is a far cry from the cultural osmosis that took place in Britain during the same decade. Seidel-Pielen goes as far as to assert that 'döner consumption is like visiting a brothel; hundreds of thousands do it every day, but they deny social recognition to the ones who provide the service.'²⁹⁷ Furthermore, the fact that increasing numbers of Turkish immigrants in Germany are serving Italian food is an indication that the döner kebab is not the culinary success the Balti curry is in Britain.

Regardless of the difference in the type of businesses run by Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen, it appears as though the reasons Bremen's Turks established small businesses match those of Newcastle's Muslim immigrants. The 2001 survey stated that the main reasons given for pursuing self-employment were a desire for independence, a higher level of income, because it offered their children a better future

²⁹⁵ J. Mushaben, 'Thinking Globally, Interacting Locally: Gender, Entrepreneurship and Urban Citizenship in Germany', *Citizenship Studies* 10 (2006), p. 215.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 215.

²⁹⁷ E. Seidel-Pielen, *AUFGESPIESST. Wie der Döner über die Deutschen kann* (Berlin, 1996), p.

and because of job security.²⁹⁸ Similarly, Fertala concludes that her immigrant respondents in Upper Bavaria escaped their economic underclass position by becoming entrepreneurial.²⁹⁹ In her work on immigrant entrepreneurship in Berlin, however, Hillmann's respondents cited unemployment as their main reason for choosing self-employment. Many of her elder respondents had previously worked in manual occupations and a large proportion of her younger respondents had either not started or not completed vocational training.³⁰⁰

In Berlin, this may have been due to the city already harbouring a large underclass of indigenous manual and unskilled workers, with which the Turkish immigrants then had to compete. Due to the fact that Berlin's unskilled labour market was larger than those of Upper Bavaria and Bremen, as it was both a German and international centre for employment migration, it is likely this market had reached a saturation point. This was also combined with the fragility of Berlin's self-sustaining economy due to its reliance upon Western subsidies. Without the protection of the guest-worker system, Turkish immigrants found it difficult to compete against German workers due to factors, such as a lack of a German education and non-proficiency in the German language.³⁰¹

There are obvious problems with making a comparison between Bremen and Berlin due to their massively differing economic structures. Bremen's narrow economic specialisation within the manufacturing sector, particularly in shipbuilding, contrasts with Berlin's mixed metropolitan economy that emerged from the late 1980s onwards. During the economic downturn of the 1970s and 1980s, it is probable that the latter enjoyed a greater economic risk bearing than the former. Whereas a very large proportion of Bremen's economy was affected by the collapse of shipbuilding and its related industries due to regional industrial agglomeration, in Berlin, the depression primarily affected

²⁹⁸ Türkische Unternehmer in Bremen und Bremerhaven, Ai-408, p. 26.

²⁹⁹ Fertala, 'A Study of Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Upper Bavaria', p. 185.

³⁰⁰ Hillman, 'A Look at the "Hidden Side"', p. 272.

³⁰¹ See A. Pécout, "'Weltoffenheit schafft Jobs': Turkish Entrepreneurship and Multiculturalism in Berlin', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26 (2002), pp. 494–507 and W. Kil and H. Silver, 'From Kreuzberg to Marzahn: New Migrant Communities in Berlin', *German Politics & Society* 24 (2006), pp. 95–121.

those at the lower end of the employment spectrum.³⁰² The notion that larger cities are home to higher unemployment rates amongst immigrants is supported by Stevenson and Wallis' 1970 study that estimated that unemployment amongst London's West Indian adolescents stood at 22%.³⁰³ Consequently, despite Newcastle and Bremen both suffering an economic structural change during the late 1970s and early 1980s, Muslim immigrants did not suffer as high levels of unemployment as London and Berlin.

A further similarity between Bremen and Newcastle emerges when addressing how Muslim immigrant businessmen in Bremen funded their business and who they consulted for advice. As has historically been the case in Newcastle, the majority of immigrant businessmen in Bremen (75%) depended largely on family and friends and only 15.7% took advantage of public grants and funds.³⁰⁴ Again, this corresponds with what has been the case in other studies. In Berlin, 72% of Hillmann's female respondents had financed their businesses either by means of their own personal savings or with the assistance of family members.³⁰⁵ Similarly, Boyes and Huneke's Turkish respondents who established businesses in the Kreuzberg district also heavily relied on their social networks for the sufficient funds.³⁰⁶ However, what must be realised is that this trait of relying solely on sources from within the immigrant community is not particular to either Newcastle and Bremen, Britain and Germany, or to Muslim immigrants. Instead, the historiography has shown that it is a widespread pattern that is prevalent amongst members of all immigrant communities who pursue self-employment throughout the Western world.³⁰⁷ Bremen's Muslim immigrants' desire for independence is further illustrated by the fact that less than half (46.1%) of the businessmen who took part in the

³⁰² This notion has still held true more recently. In 1998, unemployment amongst Berlin's foreign population was 34.4% compared with 17% amongst the German population. Hillman, 'A Look at the "Hidden Side"', p. 271.

³⁰³ Stevenson and Wallis, 'Second Generation West Indians', p. 279.

³⁰⁴ Türkische Unternehmer in Bremen und Bremerhaven, Ai-408, p. 29.

³⁰⁵ Hillman, 'A Look at the "Hidden Side"', p. 276.

³⁰⁶ Boyes and Huneke, *Is it Easier to be a Turk in Berlin or a Pakistani in Bradford*, p. 21.

³⁰⁷ For the US see T. Bates, 'Financing Small Business Creation: The Case of Chinese and Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurs', *Journal of Business Venturing* 12 (1997), pp. 109–124. For Canada see L. Wong, 'Taiwanese Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Canada and Transnational Social Space', *International Migration* 42 (2004), pp. 113–152. For Italy see A. Ceccagno, 'New Chinese Migrants in Italy', *International Migration* 41 (2003), pp. 187–213.

2001 survey had any contact with German institutions and only 38% were registered with the German employer association at the time.³⁰⁸

What becomes apparent is that, despite these two very different histories of immigration, the behaviour of Muslim immigrants within Newcastle's local employment sector mirrors that of Bremen's. It would seem natural then to assume that this desire for self-employment is not the result of the immigrants' two adopted societies, but it is a common characteristic of the immigrant communities of both cities. This notion is further supported by the previously-mentioned historiography that demonstrates entrepreneurialism is also a common feature amongst immigrants of all ethnic origins in Western countries that never experienced either Commonwealth or guest-worker immigration, such as the USA, Canada, and Italy.

A second observation is that, not only have the situations in Britain and Germany not historically differed from either each other or other Western nations, but the scenarios in Newcastle and Bremen have adhered to the conclusions reached by scholars addressing immigrant entrepreneurship in other British and German cities. Like those in Bradford, Birmingham, Berlin and Bavaria, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants in Newcastle and Turkish immigrants in Bremen have traditionally chosen self-employment when possible and have relied, in most cases, solely on members of their own communities in doing so. It would appear then that, as was the case in relation to immigrant council workers in Newcastle and Muslim immigrants in Bremen, both during and succeeding the era of the guest-worker rotation system, the local reputations have not historically affected the manner in which immigrants have performed on both cities' local labour markets. Instead, the employment of immigrants has, in both cases, conformed to national trends.

What remains to be addressed is whether this preference for entrepreneurialism is an indication of economic integration or a lack thereof. In relation to Bavaria, Fertala concludes that the establishment of immigrant businesses has not been indicative of economic integration because, rather than making use of indigenous economic opportunities, immigrants have created their own.³⁰⁹ Similarly, Allen, Bentley and Bornat

³⁰⁸ Türkische Unternehmer in Bremen und Bremerhaven, Ai-408, pp. 33-35.

³⁰⁹ Fertala, 'A Study of Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Upper Bavaria', p. 179.

assert that their Indian and Pakistani businessmen respondents in Bradford have created an independent social and economic structure within the local economy.³¹⁰ However, what these studies seem to disregard is the manner in which immigrants in both cases have demonstrated astute market awareness and have undertaken profitable ventures. This same characteristic has been also been witnessed in both Newcastle and Bremen.

In relation to Newcastle, though the capital foundation of ethnic minority businesses originated from within the ethnic community, many of these businesses have served the indigenous British population. Whether opening a small corner-shop or an Indian take-away, the immigrant businessman has created a saleable product from a merger of indigenous and ethnic cultures and influences within the existing framework of small British retail. To the contrary, in Bremen, Muslim immigrant businessmen can be seen to have abandoned ethnic cultures and products in favour of a more market-orientated approach. It appears, therefore, that in Bremen, economic success depends on Turkish emulation of German practices, whereas in Newcastle, cultural assimilation has enabled Muslim immigrants to create and thrive in their own economic niche. Therefore, in both cases, a certain level of economic integration has been achieved. This has been regardless of whether the immigrants are the result of the German guest-worker rotation system or the British free labour economy, and despite Newcastle and Bremen's strong senses of localism. Muslim immigrants in both cities have an ethnic capital, an adapted knowledge and a native customer base.

Conclusion.

It is curious that the principles behind Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy and Germany's guest-worker rotation system did not lead to a greater divergence between the experiences of Muslim immigrants within Newcastle and Bremen's local labour markets. Instead, what has been demonstrated is that, despite the contrasting manners in which Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants arrived in Newcastle, and Turkish guest-workers arrived in Bremen, both groups appear, in many cases, to have entered their adopted employment sector with the long-term goal of establishing small businesses. The sole difference is that

³¹⁰ Allen, Bentley and Bornat, *Work, Race and Immigration*, p. 244.

this desire for economic independence became prominent amongst Newcastle's Muslim immigrants at a much earlier stage than was the case amongst those in Bremen due to the latter group's initial restrictive economic position.

However, since the closure of companies, such as AG Weser, during the early 1980s, the economic aspirations amongst Muslim immigrants in Bremen do not seem to have differed from those of the Muslim immigrant community in Newcastle. It is certain that regardless of the economic structural shifts that have been witnessed in both cities³¹¹ and the discrimination endured by foreigners in both countries continuously documented by historians,³¹² the Muslim immigrant communities in both Newcastle and Bremen have traditionally demonstrated a high level of entrepreneurialism. Furthermore, immigrants in both cities have made use of certain sectors, such as that of transport, in order to attain this economic independence.

In doing so, it has been demonstrated that a certain level of economic integration is attainable. At some stage, both cities witnessed Muslim immigrants working alongside members of the indigenous population either as factory workers or public transport drivers. In Newcastle, one could argue that an increased level of economic integration was achieved based on the successes of Taylor and Davies' Indian and Pakistani respondents.³¹³ However, what has emerged is that perhaps not economic integration, but rather economic independence, has been the long-term goal of the Muslim immigrant communities of both Newcastle and Bremen.

This notion correlates with the point that many scholars have historically tended to disregard the employment aspirations of the immigrants.³¹⁴ What this chapter has demonstrated, however, is just how widespread and persistent the desire for economic independence has been. This trait amongst Muslim immigrants in Newcastle has been

³¹¹ For the North East see Calvert, *When the Pit Closed*. For Bremen see Heseler, *Plant Closure, Local Labour Market and Declining Industry in an Urban Region*.

³¹² For Britain see Hepple, *Race, Jobs and the Law in Britain*, pp. 56–57, Smith, *Racial Disadvantage in Britain* and Desai, *Indian Immigrants in Britain*, p. 85. For Germany see Wilpert, 'Work and the Second Generation', Faist, 'From School to Work' and Castles, *Here for Good*.

³¹³ Taylor, *The Half-way Generation* and Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*.

³¹⁴ For Britain see Bell, 'The Performance of Immigrants in the United Kingdom' and Chiswick, 'The Earnings of White and Coloured Male Immigrants in Britain'. For Germany see Granato and Kalter, 'Die Persistenz ethnischer Ungleichheit auf dem Deutschen Arbeitsmarkt' and Münscher, 'The Workday Routines of Turkish Women in Federal Republic of Germany'.

shown in that self-employment was their aim from the offset.³¹⁵ In Bremen, it has been illustrated by Muslim immigrant businessmen abandoned their own ethnic cultures and products in favour of a more market-orientated approach.³¹⁶ Furthermore, it has been demonstrated how immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen have adhered to the same widespread employment patterns of immigrant communities of all ethnicities throughout the Western world.³¹⁷

This suggests that the employment traits in both cities are not affected by either the principles behind Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy or Germany's guest-worker rotation system apart from the latter causing a chronological delay amongst Bremen's immigrant population entering self-employment. Both immigrant communities have striven for economic independence, the process of which has seen them purposefully extract themselves from the indigenous employment patterns. In doing so, they have conformed to international traits pertaining to immigrant employment, eroding the notion of regional patriotism as a regulator or barrier to economic integration.³¹⁸

³¹⁵ See Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, p. 22 and Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 26.

³¹⁶ See Boyes and Huneke, *Is it Easier to be a Turk in Berlin or a Pakistani in Bradford*, p. 21.

³¹⁷ For Canada see Mata and Pendakur, 'Immigration, Labor Force Integration and the Pursuit of Self-Employment'. For the US see Papademetriou, *The Effects of Immigration on the US Economy and Labor Market*. For Europe see Morokvasic, 'Roads to Independence'.

³¹⁸ For Newcastle see Todd, 'Black-on-Tyne' and Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?'. For Bremen see Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen', p. 5, Buse, 'Urban and National Identity'.

Chapter 3: The Housing Sector

Introduction: The Housing of Muslim Immigrants in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Bremen.

Theory dictates that the longer immigrants remain in their adopted society, the more closely their housing patterns resemble those of the majority.³¹⁹ Yet historians have traditionally argued that immigrants in the UK and Germany suffer, and have suffered, discrimination within the housing sector.³²⁰ As Dörr, Faist and Meis argue, immigrants in Europe's private housing market have become increasingly concentrated in poor quality housing in impoverished areas of urban development as a result of discrimination. This can often lead to the segregation, and even the ghettoisation, of ethnic minorities within the housing sector.³²¹ What is often considered the most groundbreaking and authoritative source on immigrant housing in Britain, Rex and Moore's 1967 case-study of Sparkbrook, concludes that immigrants are forced into becoming resident landlords of inner-city housing by policies of 'segregation and discrimination'.³²² Furthermore, they establish that, on the whole, immigrants are excluded from council housing and owner-occupation.³²³ Contrary to this notion, however, is the less prominent yet equally important argument that Asians in Britain have traditionally opted for self-segregation, preferring to live in close proximity to those who share their culture, religion and

³¹⁹ See E. Burgess, 'The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project', in R. Park, E. Burgess and R. McKenzie (eds.), *The City* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 47-62 and H. Häusermann and W. Siebel, *Soziologie des Wohnens: Eine Einführung in Wandel und Ausdifferenzierung des Wohnens* (Weinheim, 2000).

³²⁰ For Britain see Peach and Shah, 'The Contribution of Council Housing Allocation to West Indian Desegregation in London 1961-1971', Henderson, Karn and Brown, *Improving the Opportunities of Racial Minorities in Council Housing*, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing* and Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose Out in Council Housing'. For Germany see See Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt', Geiger, 'Ausländer im Ghetto', Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities' and Cohen, *Global Diasporas*.

³²¹ S. Dörr and T. Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States: A Comparison of the Literature on Germany, France, Great Britain and the Netherlands', *European Journal of Political Research* 31 (1997), pp. 401-426 and N. Meis, *Aspekte struktureller und differentieller Mobilität von Ausländern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Wiesbaden, 1993).

³²² Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, p. 212.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

traditions.³²⁴ In Germany, studies addressing cities such as Berlin and Düsseldorf have asserted that the Turkish population suffered higher levels of segregation than other ethnic minorities and that foreigners are often denied access to property in favour of German tenants.³²⁵

Before being able to address the experiences of the two local Muslim immigrant communities of Newcastle and Bremen, it is necessary to identify a few key differences between the British and German housing markets. In Britain, council housing is directly supervised by local authorities. Hence, in theory, immigrants should have the same opportunities in relation to housing access and allocation as their indigenous counterparts. Furthermore, housing associations are under the aegis of local authorities and are supported by publicly funded loans, giving them financial and administrative autonomy regardless of the local political climate at any given time. The council housing pool was, however, diminished and restricted by government initiatives during the 1980s, especially Thatcher's "right to buy" policy.³²⁶

Germany, on the contrary, has been traditionally home to a very small supply of public authority housing. Furthermore, what little public housing does exist is administered by an oligopoly of private landlords and housing associations. As argued by Keßler and Ross, admission officers are often prejudiced and are seldom prepared to allocate housing to immigrant families.³²⁷ This discrimination is permitted because there is not a uniform system of local authority housing administration and, hence, there is a lack of accountability to central authorities. As Dörr and Faist explain, 'the German

³²⁴ See C. Peach, 'Pluralist and Assimilationist Models of Ethnic Settlement in London 1991', *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 88 (1997), pp. 130-134, C. Peach, 'South Asian and Caribbean Ethnic Minority Housing Choice in Britain', *Urban Studies* 35 (1998), pp. 1657-1680 and P. Rees and D. Phillips, 'Geographical Patterns in a Cluster of Pennine Cities', in P. Ratcliffe (ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census: Volume Three. Social Geography and Ethnicity in Britain: Geographical Spread, Spatial Concentration and Internal Migration* (London, 1996), pp. 271-294. For a study that challenges the notion that British Muslims wish to live separately from British society see D. Phillips, 'Parallel Lives? Challenging Discourses of British Muslim Self-Segregation'.

³²⁵ See F. Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation: Recent Developments in Berlin', *Urban Studies* 35 (1998), p. 1787 and B. Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns: Evidence from Düsseldorf, West Germany', *Urban Studies* 27 (1990), p. 650.

³²⁶ See V. Karn, 'Wohnversorgung ethnischer Minderheiten in Großbritannien: Derzeitige und mögliche politische Antworten', in A. Norton and K. Novy (eds.), *Soziale Wohnpolitik der 90er Jahre. Probleme und Handlungsansätze aus britisch-deutscher Sicht* (Boston, 1990), pp. 129-137 and N. Ginsburg, 'Race, Racism and Social Policy in Western Europe', in J. Ferris and R. Page (eds.), *Social Policy in Transition* (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 165-186.

³²⁷ Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt', pp. 429-438.

distribution system for public authority housing leaves enough latitude for discriminatory practices to make the result appear structurally similar to the free market.'³²⁸ It is interesting that, despite this key difference in the distribution of public authority housing, the historiography pertaining to both Britain and Germany has reached similar verdicts of discrimination suffered. Studies addressing the situations of Huddersfield, Nottingham, Birmingham and Leeds in Britain, and Berlin, Düsseldorf, Cologne and Kiel in Germany, amongst others, have all established that immigrants suffer discrimination within the public authority housing sector.³²⁹

On the whole, the historiography pertaining to both countries stresses that discrimination is indeed suffered by immigrants on a widespread basis within the housing sector. In Britain, immigrants struggle to gain access to public authority housing, are allocated the worst quality property and often find themselves concentrated in inner-city areas where they are almost entirely segregated from the indigenous population.³³⁰ More recent studies argue for an enhanced relationship between housing inequality and race. There has been a distinction made between two types of discrimination: individualised discrimination, the result of the conscious behaviour of a certain individual, and institutionalised discrimination, the unintentional consequence of government policies. Furthermore, scholars have recently referred to an intensified exclusion in both the housing market and urban planning.³³¹

³²⁸ Dörr and Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States', p. 418.

³²⁹ See S. Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility. Immigrants & Institutions in a Northern Town* (Brighton, 1977), A. Simpson, *Stacking the Decks. A Study of Race, Inequality and Council Housing in Nottingham* (Nottingham, 1981), Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, M. Adeney, 'Equal Opportunity and the Neighbourhood', in *Community Action. Four Examples* (London, 1971), Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation', Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns', J. Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne, Germany, 1984-94', *Urban Studies* 35 (1998), pp. 1745-1763 and P. Gans, 'Intraurban Migration of Foreigners in Kiel Since 1972 - The Case of the Turkish Population', in G. Glebe and J. O'Loughlin (eds.), *Foreign Minorities in Continental European Cities* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 116-138, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, A. Power, *Racial Minorities and Council Housing in Islington*, North Islington Housing Rights Project (London, 1977), Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose out in Council Housing', J. Henderson and V. Karn, 'Race, Class and the Allocation of Public Housing in Britain', *Urban Studies* 21 (1983) pp. 115-128 and D. Smith and P. Whalley, *Racial Minorities and Council Housing*, Political and Economic Planning (London, 1975).

³³⁰ See Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Henderson and Karn, 'Race, Class and the Allocation of Public Housing in Britain' and Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, pp. 3-4.

³³¹ See P. Ratcliffe, 'Housing Inequality and "Race": Some Critical Reflections on the Concept of "Social Exclusion"', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (1999), p. 3, I. Law, *Racism, Ethnicity and Social Policy* (Hemel

In Germany, the housing experiences of Muslim immigrants were initially restricted by the guest-worker rotation system. For the most part, Turkish guest-workers resided in barrack accommodation provided for them by their employers.³³² Once they were no longer considered guest-workers and were no longer provided with accommodation, they ventured independently into the housing market. Upon choosing housing they could afford, the majority of them were concentrated in inner-city areas which the indigenous population had long vacated. In some of these districts, the proportion of foreign-born residents has risen to as high as 50%, a figure that was rarely seen in Britain until the 2001 census.³³³ Furthermore, immigrants in Germany have become twice as mobile as the indigenous population with 25% of them changing residence every year. Possible explanations for this are discrimination on behalf of landlords and housing associations, and discontent on behalf of the immigrants with their housing at the time.³³⁴ Their situation was aggravated by the high financial outlay required to get onto the German property ladder.

Although there is little doubt that the housing patterns of Muslim immigrants in Britain and Germany are affected by the attitudes and policies of their adopted societies, they also depend on the behaviour of immigrants themselves. Some works argue that the concentration of immigrants within certain neighbourhoods where the dominant languages and traditions are those that reflect the ways of the homeland is an indication of the immigrants' refusal to integrate.³³⁵ Others argue that Muslim immigrants feel increasingly comfortable being either "Indian", "Pakistani", "Bangladeshi" or "Turkish" within these districts' geographical remits.³³⁶ Both Newcastle and Bremen have been historically home to such districts. Certain areas of both cities have been "colonised" by Muslim immigrant communities. These are home to mosques, *halal* food stores, Indian

Hempstead, 1996), p. 87 and H. Thomas, 'Ethnic Minorities and the Planning System: A Study Revisited', *Town Planning Review* 68 (1997), p. 198.

³³² See Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, pp. 217-220, Borris, *Les Étrangers à Stuttgart*, pp. 125-126 and Gans, 'Intraurban Migration of Foreigners in Kiel Since 1972', p. 117.

³³³ See Geiger, 'Ausländer im Ghetto', pp. 163-166.

³³⁴ See Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer, Beschäftigung, Anwerbung, Vermittlung, Erfahrungsbericht* (Nuremberg, 1966), p. 55.

³³⁵ See A. Çağlar, 'Constraining Metaphors and the Transnationalisation of Spaces in Berlin', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27 (2001), pp. 601-613, P. Kivisto, 'Social Spaces, Transnational Immigrant Communities, and the Politics of Incorporation', *Ethnicities* 3 (2003), pp. 5-28 and C. Nagel, 'Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism', *Political Geography* 20 (2001), pp. 247-256.

³³⁶ See Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities' and Cohen, *Global Diasporas*.

and Turkish restaurants, women who wear the *hijab*, satellite dishes that receive channels from the homeland and native tongues that compete with the cry of the muezzin.

What follows is an exploration of how Muslim immigrants in both Newcastle and Bremen negotiate their way through the housing choices and the constraints they face, what factors influence their successive housing decisions, the cumulative results of their choices and the impact of policies at the individual level. In particular, this chapter will demonstrate how private-commercial sector Muslim migration in Germany compares with economic and cultural migration of Muslim immigrants to Britain following the dissolution of the Empire and the effects that these two immigration processes have had on the performance of the local Muslim communities of Newcastle and Bremen within the housing sector. This will not only be discussed from the view of the salaried bureaucrat sat in Westminster or Bonn, but also from that of the Pakistani cashier and Turkish welder. This work results in the uncovering of strategies which do not fit general patterns, thus promoting challenges to stereotypes, as well as exploring how individual cases reflect or depart from wider trends.

As was the case regarding the employment sector, works concerning the performance of Muslim immigrants within Newcastle's housing sector have not emerged since the late 1960s. The studies conducted by Taylor and Davies during this period provide an in-depth analysis of immigrant housing in the West End of the city.³³⁷ Together they depict Newcastle's Muslim immigrants' housing traits at their time of settlement and during the years immediately after. Combined with archival documents that analyse policies and measures introduced by the local authority, the history of the relationship between Muslim immigrants and Newcastle's housing sector emerges. What quickly becomes apparent is that, contrary to the established historiography, the houses and districts lived in by Newcastle's immigrants were not the result of discrimination but, in many cases, of the immigrants' personal choices. As Davies concludes, they may not be housed as well as the British elite, but their accommodation compares favourably with that of any Geordie.³³⁸

³³⁷ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, J. Davies, *Asian Housing in Britain* (London, 1985) and J. Davies and J. Taylor, 'Race, Community and No Conflict', *New Society* (July 1970), pp. 67-69.

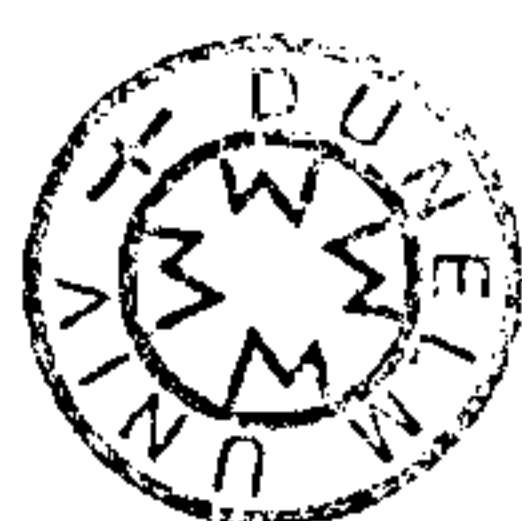
³³⁸ Davies, *Asian Housing in Britain*, p. 17.

Contrary to the employment and education sectors, the experiences of Muslim immigrants in Bremen's housing sector are documented in a recent work by Dünzelmann.³³⁹ Here, an account is provided of how guest-workers initially resided in company accommodation before seeking housing independently and becoming segregated in certain districts in the city's West End. Although this study has undoubtedly made a valuable contribution to a sparse historiography, it has one key drawback in that it addresses guest-workers of all nationalities collectively. By drawing upon crucial archival documents, personal accounts and case studies pertaining to other major German cities, this chapter will evaluate the housing situation of Bremen's Turkish immigrants, an ethnic group that deserves independent study due to its separate religion and cultural factors. This approach is further enhanced by a 1980 study that concluded that Turkish immigrants in Bremen suffered much higher levels of geo-demographic segregation compared to other immigrant groups in Bremen and Turkish immigrants in Stuttgart and Düsseldorf.³⁴⁰

What follows is a debate as to whether Newcastle and Bremen adhere to or diverge from the national trends established by the British and German historiography. With regards to Newcastle, the study commences with Taylor and Davies's 1960's study of Muslim immigrants housing in the district of Rye Hill. This is followed by measures introduced by Newcastle City Council during the 1980s and the effects these had on the city's Muslim immigrant population. Bremen's history of immigrant housing commences with their accommodation in company barracks, followed by the obstacles they encountered when venturing out onto the housing market independently. A case-study addressing a redevelopment scheme introduced in the Gröpelingen district in the early 1980s provides an effective comparison with Newcastle's immigrants who have become concentrated in the West End. In both countries, immigrant housing was ultimately affected by government policy. As was the case for employment, this included Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy and Germany's guest-worker rotation system. This politically inspired situation was soon to be replaced by

³³⁹ Dünzelmann, *Aneignung und Selbstbehauptung*.

³⁴⁰ John O'Loughlin, 'Distribution and Migration of Foreigners in German Cities', *Geographical Review*, 70 (1980), pp. 253-275.



immigrant self-determination following their establishment within their respective host communities.

**“1966 and all that” - The Housing of Muslim Immigrants in Newcastle-upon-Tyne:
Background Research Carried out by Jon Gower Davies and J. H. Taylor.**

During 1966/67, Davies conducted research on the area of Newcastle known as Rye Hill, one of the terraces in the West End where, by the late 1960s, a large proportion of the city's Muslim immigrants lived.³⁴¹ Before outlining the conclusions of his research, it is essential to provide a brief history and description of the Rye Hill area, as the housing situation of Newcastle's Muslim immigrants cannot be established without taking into consideration the type of area they settled in. A paper issued by the Tyneside Council of Social Service addressed the changing housing conditions of the West End in 1931.³⁴² The areas discussed are those between Elswick Road to the North, Scotswood Road to the South, Rye Hill to the East and Beech Grove Road to the West. The houses in this area were built between 1830 and 1880, and had housed some of the most prosperous families in Newcastle. By the 1920s, however, these had largely moved out, many due to domestic service problems.³⁴³ For the most part, the people who moved in did not intend to occupy an entire house and, consequently, there were a number of boarding houses and people who rented single furnished rooms. The paper provides the following description on the deterioration of the area:

One evidence of the change which has come over the neighbourhood is the number of barefooted children who may be seen playing about in the streets and gardens. Another is the number of “For Sale” notices. In one street of fifty houses, eleven have estate agents' boards up, two have just been bought for conversion into tenements, and it is known that in the case of three other houses, the owners wish to sell...It is clear from the

³⁴¹ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*.

³⁴² Tyneside Council of Social Service, Tyneside Papers (Second Series), No. 2 – Changing Housing Conditions in the West End of Newcastle, March 1931, L331.833, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Central Library, Centre for Local Studies.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

number of houses up for sale, and from private information received, that conversion is proceeding rapidly, and is likely to go much further.³⁴⁴

One can deduce that, by the time Muslim immigrants started settling in Rye Hill during the late 1950s and early 1960s, the area had suffered from even more deterioration. Davies supports this notion when stating that he chose to conduct his research in Rye Hill because the area stood out in four distinct ways. Firstly, it was home to more immigrants than other districts in Newcastle (6% of its population were Indian or Pakistani and only 18% had been born on Tyneside). Secondly, incomes were lower than the city's average (53% of respondents earned less than £10 a week). Thirdly, overcrowding was a major problem (10% of respondents lived in houses with six people or more). Fourthly, by 1967, Rye Hill was what Davies describes as a 'write-off' with eighteen of the thirty-eight large houses empty and entirely neglected.³⁴⁵ This area was not dissimilar to the Gröpelingen district in Bremen, which will be analysed at a later point in this chapter.

It was not only the housing conditions of Rye Hill that worsened over the years, but also the wealth and social grouping of the residents. The prosperous families for whom the houses had been built were long gone and, although some "respectable" white families did move into the area during the 1950s when the property prices dropped, they only constituted a small proportion of the residents. From the late 1950s onwards, the people of Rye Hill have proved to be a varied group. As well as these white families, the area also housed large numbers of immigrants, who found that the low property prices suited their budgets, and members of the indigenous population who were considered "misfits". Davies describes this melange of people as follows:

...highly respectable old ladies living next door to prostitutes, or highly ambitious immigrants surrounded by what, to them, was the white trash of our society, or with "ordinary" whites, unable to find decent accommodation they wanted, living in the same

³⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 2-6.

³⁴⁵ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 19.

house or terrace as people whose life-styles were, to say the least, bizarre.³⁴⁶

One the whole, this area was not popular and, according to Davies' sample, 70% of people wanted to move away.³⁴⁷ There were, however, some residents who enjoyed living in Rye Hill. When asked what he thought of his neighbours, one of Davies' white respondents replied: 'They drink, they fight and they're bloody wonderful.'³⁴⁸ As it was in this area that a very large proportion of Newcastle's Muslim immigrants lived during the 1960s, it is necessary to bear in mind the overall housing situation and context of the area. Furthermore, this description of Rye Hill during this period is similar to that provided by Rex and Moore in their 1967 study of immigrant housing in Sparkbrook, an area which also endured vast deterioration and housed a large proportion of immigrants as well as indigenous "misfits".³⁴⁹ Therefore, Davies set out to establish whether or not the situation of immigrants on Sparkbrook's 1960s' housing market also held true for Rye Hill.

Hence, Davies attempted to mould his enquiries in terms of hypotheses derived from Rex and Moore's study. His aim was to establish whether Newcastle's immigrants, as appeared to be the case in other British cities at the time, struggled to gain access to public housing, were allocated the worst quality housing in areas such as Rye Hill, were forced to take short-term high interest bank loans and were, therefore, forced to become resident landlords of marginal white households.³⁵⁰ Much of Rex's and Moore's study and numerous others that emerged in the years that followed centred around the notion that immigrants suffered discrimination because they were often excluded from council housing.³⁵¹ Yet, did Muslim immigrants in Newcastle want council housing?

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 20.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

³⁴⁹ Rex and Moore, *Race*, pp. 43-132.

³⁵⁰ See Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Henderson and Karn, 'Race, Class and the Allocation of Public Housing in Britain' and Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, pp. 3-4, P. Jones, 'Some Aspects of the Changing Distributions of Coloured Immigrants in Birmingham, 1961-1966', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 50 (1970), pp. 199-219 and M. Dalton and J. Seaman, 'The Distribution of New Commonwealth Immigrants in the London Borough of Ealing, 1961-1966', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 58 (1973), pp. 21-39.

³⁵¹ See Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, C. Duke, *Colour and Rehousing. A Study of Redevelopment in Leeds* (London, 1970), D. Ward, *Cities and Immigrants* (Oxford, 1971), Runnymede Trust, *Race and Council Housing in London* (London, 1975) Smith and Whalley, *Racial Minorities and*

Until 1968, Newcastle operated a one-year rule meaning that an applicant had to be on the waiting list for at least one year before becoming eligible to be allocated a council house. Of Davies' sample of 16 Indian and Pakistani respondents, 12 (75%) had the right to apply for council housing.³⁵² Yet, of these 12, none wanted to apply. Similarly, the results of Taylor's study addressing Asian youths in the Inner West End established that Newcastle's Indian and Pakistani immigrants did not wish to apply for council housing, no matter how long they had been in Newcastle for.³⁵³ As Davies states: 'I could find no Indian or Pakistani family who claimed to have ever tried to put their name on the list – nor, for that matter, could I find an immigrant who *wanted* to be on the council list.'³⁵⁴ This differs from the situation in Bremen where more immigrants might have opted for social housing had more been available.

This dislike of council housing by Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle was also witnessed through the city's clearance program. On 15 May 1967, the Rye Hill Advisory Committee met and discussed the demolition of certain streets. It was decided that a meeting was to take place in which officers of the council were to explain to Rye Hill's immigrant community the details of the demolition and their offer of council housing.³⁵⁵ Further details of the demolition or the proposal are not given, nor are there any successive documents that provide an account of the meeting that was to take place between the council officers and members of the immigrant community. However, five of Davies' respondents had previously lived in areas that had been demolished as part of clearance schemes by 1968. All of them refused the offer of a council house, choosing instead to buy a house of their own in Rye Hill or to move into a house they already owned elsewhere.³⁵⁶ Immigrant housing in Bremen witnessed a similar redevelopment project during the early 1980s. The key difference, however, was that, instead of being able to afford owner-occupancy once the modernization had started, Muslim immigrants in Bremen endured the redevelopment policies and remained in rented accommodation.

Council Housing, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing* and London Borough of Lewisham, *Black People and Housing in Lewisham* (London, 1980).

³⁵² Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 28.

³⁵³ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*.

³⁵⁴ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 29.

³⁵⁵ Rye Hill Advisory Committee to Planning Committee 21 October 1966-30 October 1967, Rye Hill Advisory Committee, 15 May 1967, MD.NC/151, Tyne & Wear Archives Service, p. 2.

³⁵⁶ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 29.

One Indian man, for example, was offered a council house after seeing his own house compulsorily bought and demolished by the council, but he refused: 'I don't want a council house. Why pay rent? Only Englishmen do that – I like my own place.' Another Indian property-owner said: 'Indian and Pakistani people are too clever to want to pay rent to the council. Many of them out from those clearance areas have refused council houses – why pay rent? It goes up ten shillings per year.'³⁵⁷ This refusal of council housing was by no means particular to Newcastle. A study addressing the situation in Huddersfield concluded that it was not difficult for Asian immigrants to gain access to local authority housing during the 1960s, but that they rejected this option in favour of property ownership.³⁵⁸ Similarly, Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Manchester during this decade appear to have favoured being owner-occupiers over renting property from the council.³⁵⁹

However, Rex and Moore were not the only scholars to reach the conclusion that immigrants in Britain in the 1960s had trouble accessing council housing. A study addressing London also found that many immigrant families on waiting lists of inner London boroughs at this time had very little hope of being allocated property quickly and, when property was assigned, it was rarely in one of the newer council estates.³⁶⁰ An exact reason for why the situations in London and Birmingham appear to have been different has not been established, though a possible reason for this can be provided. As was the case with the employment sector, it is possible that Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community has benefited in the housing sector due to its small size. In the same way that their restaurants and shops did not reach a saturation point, neither did affordable housing on the local housing market. Immigrants in London and Birmingham, two cities with much larger ethnic minority communities, did not have this advantage and, therefore, had to, in some cases at least, concede to the offer of council housing.

Not only did Newcastle's Muslim immigrants demonstrate their striving for independence through their rejection of council housing, but also in the manner in which they financed their property ownership. During the 1960s, a large proportion of these

³⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

³⁵⁸ Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, p. 16.

³⁵⁹ E. Burney, *Housing on Trial: A Study of Immigrants and Local Government* (London, 1967), pp. 158-164.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 61-72.

immigrants lived in Rye Hill's relatively low-priced terrace housing. £1,000 would buy a ten-roomed house in Rye Hill itself and £800 bought an eight-roomed house in an adjoining area. In some streets, a three-bedroom house could be purchased for as little as £400.³⁶¹ Davies' findings appear to have also differed from the conclusions reached by Rex and Moore in that Newcastle's Muslims had no trouble obtaining the necessary funds for property. When asked how they had afforded to purchase property, they listed hard work, saving, the accumulation of a large down-payment, and the borrowing of the balance from a bank, a building society, a relative or a friend.³⁶² Unlike Sparkbrook's immigrants, none appeared to have had trouble getting mortgages from building societies, forcing them to borrow from the bank or money-lenders, causing long-term financial difficulties.³⁶³ A likely explanation for this could be the restriction to mortgage allocation that took place during the 1960s and 1970s, especially with regards to certain inner-city areas.³⁶⁴ It would be logical to assume that Birmingham's larger immigrant community would have felt the repercussions of this policy far more than Newcastle's smaller one. This would have especially been the case in an area like Sparkbrook. Bremen's Muslim immigrants have shown this same preference for owner-occupancy though it did not emerge until later, with greater financial difficulties being experienced due to the large financial outlay required by the German housing market.

It is indeed this factor that distinguishes between Newcastle's Muslim immigrants and those in other British cities. Scholars agree that immigrants encounter more obstacles when trying to borrow money for the purchase of property and that they are more likely to borrow capital on less favourable terms.³⁶⁵ Duncan's 1977 study on the housing situation of immigrants in Huddersfield established that building societies rarely awarded mortgages on the security of low-value houses, which were those immigrants tended to

³⁶¹ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 30.

³⁶² Ibid., pp. 31-32.

³⁶³ Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, p. 30.

³⁶⁴ See K. Bassett and J. Short, *Housing and Residential Structure* (London, 1980), P. Williams, 'Building Societies and the Inner City', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 3 (1978), pp. 23-34 and J. Short and K. Bassett, 'Housing Policy and the Inner City in the 1970s', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 6 (1981), pp. 293-312.

³⁶⁵ See L. Stevens, V. Karn, E. Davidson and A. Stanley, *Race and Building Society Lending in Leeds* (Leeds, 1982), V. Karn, J. Kemeny and P. Williams, *Home Ownership in the Inner City: Salvation or Despair?* (Aldershot, 1985) and P. Sarre, D. Phillips and R. Skellington, *Ethnic Minority Housing: Explanations and Policies* (Aldershot, 1989).

become concentrated in.³⁶⁶ A 1964-65 survey of Pakistani-owned houses in Halifax discovered that only 5% had named a building society loan as their main method of purchase.³⁶⁷ Furthermore, a large building society in Manchester with branches all around the city refused to lend on property in certain areas in the 1960s, most of which was renowned for housing high numbers of immigrants.³⁶⁸ It is clear that immigrants around Britain were suffering discrimination upon trying to access funds for property. Yet all of Davies' respondents who had tried to obtain a loan from a building society had succeeded in doing so.³⁶⁹

There could be a number of reasons why the situation in Newcastle was so different. Firstly, not all of Davies' respondents agreed to explain how they had obtained the necessary funds to buy property, so it could be that his conclusions were not a fair representation of the Muslim immigrant community at the time. Secondly, Newcastle's immigrant community was much smaller than those of Birmingham or Manchester. This meant that it was likely that fewer immigrants wanted mortgages and perhaps those who did were more likely to succeed in obtaining them. However, this does not explain why the situation in Newcastle was so different from those in Huddersfield and Halifax, both not being home to particularly large immigrant communities.

The chances of being allocated a building society loan could have been further enhanced by the likelihood that the majority of Newcastle's Muslim immigrants did not want financial assistance in the housing sector in the same way as in the employment sector. Some of Davies' respondents had relied on family and friends for the capital needed to invest in property and, knowing the large role that this type of assistance played in the establishment of businesses, it would seem logical to assume that it served a similar purpose in the housing sector. Or perhaps it is at this point that Todd and Byrne's notion of the North East being a welcoming host and a keen supporter of the "underdog" started to play a part.³⁷⁰

This notion that immigrants have been able to act independently within the housing sector without their situations being dependent on indigenous actions contradicts

³⁶⁶ Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, p. 8.

³⁶⁷ Burney, *Housing on Trial*, p. 35.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 159-160.

³⁶⁹ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, pp. 31-33.

³⁷⁰ Todd, *Black-on-Tyne* and Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?'.

sharply with the historiography. Rex states that it is unfortunate that scholars are 'now beginning to argue that segregation is something chosen by immigrants' and claims that a conflict is taking place between immigrants 'as inhabitants of some kind of quasi-ghetto, and those who inhabit other parts of the city.'³⁷¹ Yet it must be realised that immigrants in Newcastle have indeed historically chosen their housing patterns and that a quasi-ghetto has never emerged.

On the contrary, they have approached the local housing market in the manner that best suited their own interests. It is their tradition of rejecting available local authority housing and their success in finding the necessary funds to finance their status as owner-occupiers that allows one to draw comparisons with their approach towards the employment sector. The fact that they prefer to own their own properties in the same manner that they prefer to run their own businesses implies that this trait is pertinent to the immigrant community itself, rather than the result of discrimination suffered in their adopted society. This theory is supported by the fact that Bremen's Muslim immigrants demonstrate similar traits. One of Taylor's young Asian youths had the following to say when asked whether he thought that immigrants in Newcastle were forced into their housing patterns. The answer given provides a pertinent summary of the various reasons why immigrants choose property-ownership:

I don't think it's the general case around here...I think it's just a question of making money. They (his parents) wouldn't live in a council house...they wouldn't live in any rented place. They would buy it to live in because they like to feel secure, and that it's their own...it belongs to them and nobody can push them out. (Question: Secure from whom?) Secure from people, from the council, because they feel that at any time the council wishes, any time their neighbors object, people can raise riots and have them kicked out. They feel this, very strongly.³⁷²

A Pakistani man, both a shop-keeper and a property-owner himself, listened to an account of the Rex-Moore thesis and felt that it did not apply to the situation in

³⁷¹ Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City*, pp. 111, 121.

³⁷² Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 34.

Newcastle at all. He felt that Birmingham's immigrants were generally illiterate and that they tended to all live with one man who could speak English. He said: 'In Newcastle, there is a better type of immigrant, and we do not want to pay rent...'³⁷³ Another man said that Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle were 'too clever' to pay rent to the council and said that they had no trouble purchasing houses.³⁷⁴ Although there is no doubt that Muslim immigrants in Newcastle approached the housing sector portrayed a strong sense of independence in their approach towards the housing sector, how unique this sentiment was remains debatable. As was the case with this trait within the labour market, it is not only pertinent to other British cities, such as Huddersfield and Manchester, but also to immigrant communities in other countries in the Western world.³⁷⁵ There is little doubt that London and Birmingham's Muslim immigrant communities possess similar property ambitions, but simply have not found themselves in an environment that has allowed their fulfilment.

Since the 1960s, Newcastle's Muslim immigrants have primarily opted for property-ownership mainly due to security reasons. However, there have been those who, especially during the 1960s, exploited the low prices and acquired property specifically for renting. As Davies clarifies, this type of activity was highly criticized by the owner-occupier immigrant who had worked and saved for his house 'only to find its value dropping as the entrepreneurial activity of other immigrants brought in a host of "white trash" tenants'.³⁷⁶ This contradicts vastly with theories offered by other scholars. They describe an immigrant landlord who is forced to rent out rooms due to economic hardships and an immigrant tenant who is compelled to rent a room from an immigrant landlord, as he would undoubtedly suffer discrimination at the hands of an indigenous one.³⁷⁷ In Newcastle, however, it is clear that many immigrant landlords' tenants were white and that their status as landlords is either an overspill of their high levels of

³⁷³ Ibid., p. 36.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

³⁷⁵ For Huddersfield see Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, p. 16. For Manchester see Burney, *Housing on Trial*, pp. 158-164. For Norway see S. Sørholt, 'Ethnic Minority Groups and Strategies in the Housing Market in Oslo', *European Journal of Housing Policy* 1 (2001), pp. 337-355. For the US see I. Light, 'Immigrant Place Entrepreneurs in Los Angeles, 1970-99', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26 (2002), pp. 215-228.

³⁷⁶ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 37.

³⁷⁷ See Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict* and Burney, *Housing on Trial*, p. 11.

entrepreneurialism from the labour sector into the local housing market or a result of limited outlets for entrepreneurialism in the labour market.

The fact that some Muslim immigrants opted to become landlords is understandable. These first-generation immigrants had arrived in Newcastle with little money, little knowledge of the English language and often with fewer qualifications than the indigenous population. In many cases, it is likely that, at first, they did not have either the educational achievements or the capital to satisfy their drive for economic success. The previous chapter on employment discussed how Muslim immigrants entered their adopted labour market in order to acquire the necessary funds to remove themselves from it and establish businesses. It is very probable that those who became landlords did so knowing that it meant that their striving for economic independence would be that much easier and that their businesses could be established that much sooner. As London and Birmingham's immigrants were often concentrated in the "dirty job" sector and did not have the luxury of self-employment as those in Newcastle, it would also seem likely that they were not able to manipulate their local housing market in the same manner.³⁷⁸

On the whole, it seems as though the 1960s witnessed Newcastle's Muslim immigrants approaching the local housing sector in a manner they chose and that suited their needs. Not only did they refuse to accept council housing in the same way they rejected assistance from the local authority when establishing small businesses, but they even managed to buy property. Furthermore, these immigrants appear to have chosen their location in the West End of the city, rather than being forced to live there, as Rex and Moore argue was the case in Sparkbrook.³⁷⁹ At the time of Davies's study, Rye Hill was simply one of the terraces in the West End with a higher percentage of immigrants than the city average. There were, however, other areas that would have been equally suited for this research, such as areas in Fenham, Elswick and, later on, Scotswood Road.

There is little doubt that, initially, Muslim immigrants were attracted to Rye Hill by low property prices, as were those in Bremen to Gröpelingen by low rents. A similar situation was witnessed during the late 1960s and early 1970s in Huddersfield where

³⁷⁸ See Lindsey, 'The Split-Labour Phenomenon', Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 98-126 and P. Sloane and S. Gazioglu, 'Immigration and Occupational Status: A Study of Bangladeshi and Turkish Fathers and Sons in the London Labour Market', *Labour Economics* 3 (1996), pp. 399-424.

³⁷⁹ Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*.

Asian immigrants were over-represented amongst houses of low-value. Duncan declares that their desire for self-segregation does not justify their occupation of low-quality houses, implying that discrimination did indeed take place.³⁸⁰ To the contrary, Dahya proclaims that many immigrants purposely purchased cheap, low-quality housing upon arriving in Britain in the belief that they would soon be returning to the homeland.³⁸¹ Unlike Rex and Moore, Dahya argues that although discrimination was experienced, it played no part in the immigrants' housing choice. He believes that because most Asians arrived to Britain purely for economic reasons and with the initial intention of staying only for the short-term, it was deemed unnecessary to improve their residential status in Britain by competing for better quality housing.³⁸² It has also been argued that this self-segregation has, in many cases, been the result of common values, customs, cultures and behaviour.³⁸³ Therefore, although much of the historiography refers to this immigrant residential agency in the negative form of ghettoisation,³⁸⁴ there is nevertheless a proportion of the literature that recognises both the immigrant's ability to manipulate the housing market and their desire to reside in an area of ethnic familiarity. There is little doubt that Newcastle and Bremen's Muslim immigrant communities' conscious decision to live segregated in certain areas of the cities adheres to this latter school of thought and challenges the more traditional viewpoint

Their desire for independence and security meant that they preferred to purchase properties in the more deprived districts of the city than having to rely on the council for housing. In the long-term, however, judging from their success in both the employment and housing sectors, many of these immigrants could have surely moved to one of

³⁸⁰ Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, p. 11.

³⁸¹ B. Dahya, 'The Nature of Pakistani Ethnicity in Industrial Cities in Britain', in A. Cohen (ed.), *Urban Ethnicity* (London, 1974), pp. 77-118.

³⁸² See also G. Aurora, *The New Frontiersmen: A Sociological Study of Indian Immigrants in the UK* (Bombay, 1967), A. Richmond, *Migration and Race Relations in an English City: A Study in Bristol* (Oxford, 1973) and Sarre, Phillips and Skellington, *Ethnic Minority Housing*.

³⁸³ See G. Kearsley and S. Srivastava, 'The Spatial Evolution of Glasgow's Asian Community', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 90 (1974), pp. 110-124, V. Robinson, *Transients, Settlers and Refugees: Asians in Britain* (Oxford, 1986), C. Peach, 'Islam, Ethnicity and South Asian Religions in the London 2001 Census', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31 (2006), pp. 353-370 and D. Phillips, C. Davis and P. Ratcliffe, 'British Asian Narratives of Urban Space', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 32 (2007), pp. 217-234.

³⁸⁴ See Dörr and Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States', Meis, *Aspekte struktureller und differentieller Mobilität von Ausländern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation: Recent Developments in Berlin' and B. Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns'.

Newcastle's more prosperous districts. It is this decision to remain in the districts and properties they settled in upon arriving in Newcastle that reinforces the notion that their approach towards the housing sector has been a consequence of their own wants.

Although there have naturally been cases of Muslim immigrants in Newcastle relocating to more prestigious areas of the city, such as Gosforth, once it was economically viable to do so, Newcastle has not witnessed the emergence of an "ethnic suburbia" as has been the case amongst London's Jews, for example.³⁸⁵ Again, this could be a consequence of Newcastle's small immigrant community. The historiography has repeatedly shown that members of immigrant communities in the Western world prefer to reside alongside fellow immigrants in neighbourhoods in which they can place their identities and create local ties.³⁸⁶ As Ehrkamp and Cohen argue, this allows immigrants to feel increasingly comfortable when displaying their ethnic identities in these districts.³⁸⁷ Hence, location undoubtedly played a vital role for Muslim immigrants in Newcastle, as it has historically done for those in Bremen.

Overall, the 1960s was a decade in which Newcastle's Muslim immigrants rejected council housing, even when their own properties were compulsorily demolished by the council, purchased properties with funds they had acquired in their chosen manner, and some even enjoyed landlord status. Furthermore, immigrant landlords rented either rooms or entire properties out to white tenants, an indication that integration within the housing sector did indeed take place, either on an individual level in the form of a relationship between an immigrant landlord and an indigenous tenant, or on a more overarching level, as this meant that immigrants and locals lived alongside each other as

³⁸⁵ See S. Waterman and B. Kosmin, 'Mapping an Unenumerated Ethnic Population: Jews in London', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 9 (1986), pp. 484-501, V. Lipman, 'The Rise of Jewish Suburbia', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 21 (1968), pp. 78-103 and S. Waterman and B. Kosmin, 'Residential Patterns and Processes: A Study of Jews in Three London Boroughs', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 13 (1988), pp. 79-95.

³⁸⁶ See Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities', J. Agnew and J. Duncan, *The Power of Place: Bringing Together the Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (Boston, 1989) and N. Schiller and L. Basch, 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration', *Anthropological Quarterly* 68 (1995), pp. 48-64.

³⁸⁷ See Ehrkamp, 'Placing identities' and Cohen, *Global Diasporas*.

neighbours. Nowhere in Davies' study is there mention of the discrimination cited in the established historiography.³⁸⁸

As proved to be the case regarding the labour market, Newcastle's Muslim immigrants have demonstrated a clear desire for independence in the housing sector and have only mixed with the indigenous population when it was to ensure their security and economic stability. When comparing the housing situation of immigrants in Newcastle during this decade to that of those in Bremen, two more differing scenarios could not be imagined. At a time when Newcastle's immigrants were climbing the local property ladder, in comparison, Bremen's were confined to the geographical remits of their recruitment companies as a result of the regulations of the guest-worker rotation system.

The Housing of Muslim Immigrants in Newcastle: The Sudden Realisation of the 1980s.

Although Muslim immigrants had been settling in Newcastle since the late 1950s, it was not until 1984 that the local government took a major step towards addressing racial harassment within the housing sector. There are no available archival documents that specify why this was the case. However, there are a group of factors that could explain why the housing of Muslim immigrants was not a pressing political issue before the 1980s. Firstly, the areas in which the immigrants were concentrated, as was seen in Davies' case-study of Rye Hill, were home to deteriorating houses and outcast residents. It is no wonder that neither the local authority nor the indigenous population felt it necessary to intercede. If these immigrants had been purchasing and renting property in Gosforth or Jesmond at the same speed as in Rye Hill, however, there is little doubt that this topic would have featured much higher on the local political agenda.

The second factor is that, unlike in Bremen, the vast majority of these immigrants were purchasing their own property and refusing council housing. This meant that, not

³⁸⁸ See Peach and Shah, 'The Contribution of Council House Allocation to West Indian Desegregation in London 1961-71', Henderson, Karn and Brown, *Improving the Opportunities of Racial Minorities in Council Housing*, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing* and Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose Out in Council Housing', Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Adeney, 'Equal Opportunity and the Neighbourhood', Ratcliffe, 'Housing Inequality and "Race"', Law, *Racism, Ethnicity and Social Policy* and Thomas, 'Ethnic Minorities and the Planning System'.

only were they living amongst themselves in areas in the West End that much of the indigenous population had long since moved out of, but they were also successfully establishing a place for themselves in the local housing market. It is understandable that Newcastle City Council did not deem it necessary to address their situation within the housing sector. What needs to be established is what caused political recognition to occur during the mid-1980s as in Bremen.

It is plausible that, as was the case regarding the employment sector, investigations concerning the performance of immigrants within the local housing sector was a result of the pressure put on Newcastle City Council by the Race Relations Act 1976. Before this Act, immigrants in Britain were not adequately protected against discrimination in the housing sector and local authorities were not obliged to either monitor the situation or offer assistance. With this third Act, local councils were called upon to do just this and, as a result, archival documents focusing on the housing of immigrants in Newcastle appeared from 1984 onwards. There are no available archival documents that provide a record of this link between the Act and initiatives taken by Newcastle's local authority during the succeeding years.

However, other works have established a clear connection between the 1976 legislation and the effects that it has had on local councils around Britain.³⁸⁹ Although this Act produced very few results at first, its combination with the 1981 urban disturbances in cities such as London and Liverpool, caused local governments around Britain to take action by establishing race relations and equal opportunity committees.³⁹⁰ Judging from the fact that the earliest available document pertaining to Newcastle dates from 1984, it is likely that its local authority was one of the many that rejected the 1976 Act until the 1981 riots convinced it otherwise. Consequently, one can assume that the issues addressed in the documents that followed, such as overcrowding and racial harassment, were not new to the 1980s, but rather they had been pertinent to the immigrants' lives for some time without having been charted. As will later be discussed,

³⁸⁹ See J. Rex, *The Ghetto and the Underclass. Essays on Race and Social Policy* (Avebury, 1988), p. 3. For Nottingham see Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, p. 255. For Birmingham see H. Flett, *Black Council Tenants in Birmingham* (Bristol, 1979).

³⁹⁰ See Rex, *The Ghetto and the Underclass*, p. 3 and K. Young and N. Connelly, *Policy and Practice in the Multi-Racial City* (London, 1981).

the reasons why documents addressing the housing situation of immigrants in Bremen started emerging during the early 1980s are not so straightforward.

Newcastle City Council's newfound commitment towards ensuring racial equality within the housing sector was portrayed three years later in a document entitled 'The Council and Racial Equality: Policy Statement and Action Plan'³⁹¹ dating from November 1984. It expressed a commitment to the elimination of racial discrimination in the housing sector, amongst others. It stated that the monitoring of immigrants in the housing sector had been improved because:

The council's housing application form now includes a question on the ethnic origin of the applicant. The introduction of a more sophisticated computerized lettings system during 1985 will allow for the monitoring of the allocation process in relation to ethnic origin of the applicant, waiting time, choice and eventual area of rehousing.³⁹²

What becomes immediately obvious is that this policy could only benefit immigrants in relation to council housing. Yet as was established in the previous section, Muslim immigrants in Newcastle have a history of strongly rejecting council housing, preferring owner-occupancy. This trend that was established by Davies and Taylor during the 1960s was confirmed by way of interviews.³⁹³ Every single one of the Muslim families that took part in my investigations lived in a house that they owned. Only one of these families had previously lived in a council house. This was during the mid-1970s when its financial situation had not allowed it to purchase property. The family bought a house in Fenham during the early 1980s and said that it has since felt safe and relieved to have a place of their own.³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 March 1983-17 July 1985, The Council and Racial Equality: Policy Statement and Action Plan, November 1984, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

³⁹² Ibid., p. 15.

³⁹³ See Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, Davies, *Asian Housing in Britain* and Davies and Taylor, 'Race, Community and No Conflict'.

³⁹⁴ I spoke to the male heads of twelve Muslim families in Newcastle between October 2004 and December 2005. They were all either of Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin and agreed to the interviews as long as they could remain anonymous and recording equipment was not used.

The exact number of Muslim immigrants applying for council housing at this point is unknown, though based on Davies and Taylor's research and on the sentiments expressed in the interviews, it is safe to assume that their rejection of public authority housing has been ever-present from the 1960s through to the present day. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that such a policy would have had a positive impact on the housing situation of the Muslim immigrant community as a whole. What would surely have been much more beneficial would have been for the council to offer assistance to those immigrants who either already were, or wished to become, owner-occupiers. There is little doubt that information booklets in native tongues regarding such matters as estate agents, mortgages and legal costs would have proved more useful.

Again, there is a key similarity with the situation regarding the employment sector. It was discussed how Newcastle City Council appeared to be attempting to assist the wrong group of immigrants via its introduction of policies aimed at those who had a support group in the shape of a family-run business instead of at those who did not. Similarly, here it could be claimed that the council was doing the same in that it offered assistance to immigrants regarding council housing, which was unlikely to be taken advantage of, instead of to the vast majority who favoured the owner-occupier status. On the contrary, however, the council's approach could be deemed as one that did offer assistance to those immigrants who needed it most. After all, an immigrant who in 1984 was already enjoying owner-occupier status had undoubtedly gained sufficient finance and knowledge concerning the local housing market. A Muslim family applying for public authority housing most probably had not.

It is difficult to assess why Newcastle City Council decided to assist the city's immigrants with regards to public authority housing. It could have been due to this housing being closely monitored and regulated by the local authority. As this is the earliest available document relating to immigrant housing, it could be that, at the time, the council was not aware of the city's immigrants' housing patterns. Their decision to offer assistance in relation to immigrant council housing could relate to the housing difficulties experienced by other immigrant populations in Britain. After all, it was this

housing category that was tackled by other local authorities during the late 1970s and early 1980s and this decision could, therefore, have acted as a preemptive strike.³⁹⁵

As has historically been the case in Bremen, one of the main problems faced by Muslim immigrant families in Newcastle was overcrowding. In a meeting held by the Housing Committee in February 1985, a manner in which this problem could be rectified was established.³⁹⁶ It was decided that the way council houses were awarded was to be changed in that families with more children were to be awarded the larger properties. It was no longer deemed acceptable for two siblings of different sexes to share a room above the age of ten or for two siblings of the same sex to do so above the age of sixteen. Families that qualified would be awarded more points and given priority in the allocation of larger properties.³⁹⁷ It was thought that this alteration to the point system would benefit immigrant families more than indigenous ones. This was due to the fact that it had historically been the case that Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi families in Newcastle have had more children than indigenous ones and have taken in relatives to live with them on a permanent basis.

Overcrowding amongst immigrants was in no way particular to Newcastle. The historiography addressing the situation in other British cities had established that large immigrant families, in particular, tended to be allocated the worst quality public authority housing.³⁹⁸ Furthermore, numerous local authorities around Britain introduced a similar type of points system, which has repeatedly been criticized by scholars. Karn argues that

³⁹⁵ See G. Bramley, P. Leather and A. Murie, *Housing Strategies and Investment Programmes* (Bristol, 1980), Community Relations Commission, *Housing Choice and Ethnic Concentration* (London, 1977), Community Relations Commission, *Local Authority Housing and Race* (London, 1975), Hazel Flett, *Council Housing and the Location of Ethnic Minorities* (Bristol, 1977), F. Gray, 'Selection and Allocation in Council Housing', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 1 (1976), pp. 34-46, Housing Services Advisory Group, *Allocation of Council Housing* (London, 1978), S. Lansley, *Housing and Public Policy* (London, 1979), NUPE/SCAT, *Up Against a Brick Wall – The Dead End in Housing Policy* (SCAT, 1978), Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, H. Flett, J. Henderson and B. Brown, *Some Aspects of the Operation of Birmingham's Housing Department, and the Factors Affecting Housing Allocation* (Birmingham, 1978), C. Holmes, *Issues of Access and Allocation in London* (London, 1979), P. Niner, *Transfer Policies: A Case Study in Harlow* (Birmingham, 1980), J. Thorpe, *Housing Associations and Ethnic Minorities in Nottingham* (Nottingham, 1981) and D. Webster, 'Why Labour Failed on Housing', *New Society* (1980), pp. 117-118.

³⁹⁶ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 September 1985-15 July 1987, City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Housing Committee, Lettings Policy, 14 February 1985, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁹⁸ See Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose Out in Council Housing' and Rex and Tomlinson, *Coloured Immigrants in a British City*.

it was discriminatory in that allocation officers frequently offered properties in unpopular areas to families that they knew were likely to accept them. She claims that it was often the case that immigrants accepted properties in areas that the indigenous population did not, mainly because they did not mind living there as other immigrant families had already settled there.³⁹⁹

Numerous other studies have agreed that these point schemes caused immigrants to endure further discrimination, rather than to reduce it.⁴⁰⁰ The extent to which this was the case in Newcastle is not known with certainty. However, judging from two reports dating from May 1984 addressing a series of complaints on behalf of the city's Bengali community, it is safe to assume that, as was the case in other British cities, Muslim immigrants who applied for council housing in Newcastle, were disadvantaged upon doing so.⁴⁰¹ These documents, however, do not account for any improvements that may have resulted from the alterations to the point scheme. Regardless of the fact that this scheme demonstrated a lack of understanding of the city's immigrant community, it should nevertheless be recognized that improvements were attempted. Bremen's Muslim immigrants, to the contrary, would have benefited from ameliorations to the public housing scheme. However, as was the case across Germany, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a vast decrease in the amount of social housing available.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁹ V. Karn, 'Race and Housing in Britain: The Role of the Major Institutions', in N. Glazer and K. Young (eds.), *Ethnic Pluralism and Public Policy: Achieving Equality in the United States and Britain* (Aldershot, 1986), p. 168.

⁴⁰⁰ See J. Stunnell, *An Examination of Racial Equality in Points Scheme Housing Allocations* (London, 1975) and A. Power, *Racial Minorities and Council Housing in Islington – Is the Borough Being Fair?* (North Islington, 1977).

⁴⁰¹ See Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, The Bengali Community in the Inner West End of Newcastle, Director of Environmental Health, 31 May 1984, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service and Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, Housing the Bengali Community in the Inner West End, Director of Housing, 24 May 1984, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁴⁰² See B. Heisler, 'Housing Policy and the Underclass: The United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands', *Journal of Urban Affairs* 16 (1994), pp. 203-220, H. Tomann, 'The Housing Market, Housing Finance and Housing Policy in West Germany: Prospects for the 1990s', *Urban Studies* 27 (1990), pp. 919-930, R. Ulbrich and U. Wullkopf, 'Housing Affordability in the Federal Republic of Germany', in G. Hallet (ed.), *The New Housing Shortage: Housing Affordability in Europe and the USA* (London, 1993), pp. 98-125, W. Clark and A. Drever, 'Residential Mobility in a Constrained Housing Market: Implications for Ethnic Populations in Germany', *Environment and Planning* 32 (2000), pp. 833-846, J. Dangschat, 'Concentration of Poverty in the Landscapes of "boomtown" Hamburg: The Creation of a New Urban Underclass?', *Urban Studies* 74 (1994), pp. 29-43, H. Leitner, 'Regulating Migrants' Lives: The Dialectic of Migrant Labour and the Contradictions of Regulatory and Integration Policies in the Federal Republic of Germany', in G. Glebe and J. O'Loughlin (eds.), *Foreign Minorities in Continental European Cities*

These reports emerged as a result of a number of complaints that had been made by members of Newcastle's Bengali community in Elswick in the Inner West End starting during the late 1970s. The nature of the complaints ranged from problems arising within properties, such as damp and rodents, to incidents of racial harassment in the form of graffiti and broken windows. Before addressing the situation in more detail, it is necessary to explain why it is only the Bengali community that is in question. Although Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community had largely rejected council housing, the Bengalis have never adhered to this housing pattern. According to a report issued by the Director of Policy Services, 'unlike the other Asian communities, these Bengalis have applied for local authority housing, requesting to live in this area (Bentinck Estate), where they can feel the security and protection of being among their own people.'⁴⁰³ This same pattern has been documented by some of the literature in which the main reason cited for why Bangladeshis often opt for council housing is geographical location. The areas in which they are concentrated and have historically chosen to live due to cultural and religious ties, such as Tower Hamlets, have until recently had only a small amount of owner occupation.⁴⁰⁴

Bengalis have historically been very different to Newcastle's other Muslim immigrant communities. They originate from a very rural background where they speak a language that has no written tradition and school is not compulsory. They are strict followers of Islam and adhere to all the religious rules and traditions. The women's activities outside of the home are often restricted and, hence, they remain isolated and

(Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 71-89, R. Pahl, *Whose City?* (Harmondsworth, 1975), C. Arin, 'The Housing Market and Housing Policies for the Migrant Labour Population in West Berlin', in E. Huttman, J. Saltman and W. Blauw (eds.), *Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States* (Durham, 1991), pp. 199-214, J. Friedrichs and H. Alpheis, 'Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany', in E. Huttman, J. Saltman and W. Blauw (eds.), *Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States* (London, 1991), pp. 116-144, J. Friedrichs, 'Social Inequality, Segregation and Urban Conflict: The Case of Hamburg', in S. Musterd and W. Ostendorf (eds.), *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State: Inequality and Exclusion in Western Cities* (London, 1998), pp. 168-190 and J. Vesper, 'Das Abschmelzen des Sozialwohnungsbestandes. Ursachen und Auswirkungen auf unterschiedlichen regionalen Wohnungsmärkten', *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* 5 (1991), p. 371.

⁴⁰³ The Bengali Community in the Inner West End of Newcastle, 31 May 1984, MD.NC/162/1, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁴ See J. Eade, T. Vamplew and C. Peach, 'The Bangladeshis: The Encapsulated Community', in C. Peach (ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census: Volume 2. The Ethnic Minority Populations of Great Britain* (London, 1996), pp. 150-160, E. Howes and D. Mullins, 'Ethnic Minority Tenants', in V. Karn (ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census: Volume Four. Employment, Education and Housing among the Ethnic Minority Populations of Britain* (London, 1997), pp. 189-220 and C. Peach, 'Does Britain Have Ghettos?', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21 (1996), pp. 216-235.

rarely speak the English language.⁴⁰⁵ The manner in which their background affects their choice of housing is one that is not only witnessed in Newcastle, but also around Britain and the Western world.⁴⁰⁶

However, perhaps the most fascinating trait of Newcastle's Bengali community is that, when analyzing their housing patterns, closer comparisons can be drawn with Bremen's guest-workers than with Newcastle's other Muslim immigrant communities. As has been discussed, most Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants arrived in Newcastle as whole families knowing that they would settle for the long-term and, hence, wanted to become owner-occupiers. To the contrary, the Bengalis, like the Muslim guest-workers in Bremen, did not arrive with such an immediate integrative mindset. Instead, both ethnic groups settled in phases. Their initial aim was to arrive as single men, work and save as much money as possible, and then return to their families in Bengal. It is perhaps a result of these factors that the Bengali community has not been drawn upon in Davies and Taylor's research and the small number of Muslim immigrants partaking in council housing has been ignored.⁴⁰⁷ It appears as though they escaped these studies by not conforming to the housing patterns of Newcastle's other Muslim immigrants either in relation to initial aspirations or geographical location.

It is necessary to consider whether this key difference in settlement patterns caused this contrast in the approach to housing between the Bengali community and Newcastle's other Muslim immigrants. One could initially think that Bengalis did not have the financial opportunity to become owner-occupiers as, perhaps because they did not intend to settle for the long-term, their integration, and hence their employment opportunities, were limited. Yet the 1984 Director of Policy Services declared that Bengali men were employed in restaurants and take-aways in the same type of work as many other Muslim immigrants.⁴⁰⁸ It is, therefore, logical to assume that though they possessed the same employment opportunities as their Muslim immigrant counterparts,

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁰⁶ See G. Wemyss, 'The Power to Tolerate: Contests Over Britishness and Belonging in East London', *Patterns of Prejudice* 40 (2006), pp. 215-236 and S. Ghosh, 'Transnational Ties and Intra-Immigrant Group Settlement Experiences: A Case Study of Indian Bengalis and Bangladeshis in Toronto', *GeoJournal* 68 (2007), pp. 223-242.

⁴⁰⁷ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, Davies, *Asian Housing in Britain* and Davies and Taylor, 'Race, Community and No Conflict'.

⁴⁰⁸ The Bengali Community in the Inner West End of Newcastle, 31 May 1984, MD.NC/162/1, p. 2.

they chose not to enjoy the same benefits in the housing sector. Instead of purchasing houses, they lived in the cheapest properties available so as to increase their savings. Bengali men often shared rooms where they slept and ate. This mirrors the living experiences of Turkish guest-workers in Bremen who worked for AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan during the 1960s, the difference being that the accommodation in question in Bremen was provided by the companies, whilst that in Newcastle by the council.

Following the initial two reports that documented problems experienced by the Bengalis, the Director of Housing composed a report that detailed the situation of this community on the Bentinck estate during the early 1980s.⁴⁰⁹ The estate was chosen because of the previous complaints there, but also because it housed a large proportion of the city's Bengalis as 17 out of a total of 67 Bengali families lived there. The first problem raised was that of damp.⁴¹⁰ The Director of Housing claimed that this problem was due to the Bengalis not operating their heating system properly, either because they could not afford to or because they did not understand how it worked.

Both of these explanations, however, seem very unlikely. There is little chance that these families could not afford to heat their properties. By this time, the Bengali men had settled in Newcastle for the long-term, had been joined by their families, were investing solely in their lives in their adopted society and, as previously mentioned, had very similar work to their Muslim immigrant counterparts. The report itself concedes that these properties were not equipped with sufficient heating appliances, so it is much more likely that this damp was either a result of a lack of heating appliances, appliances that were not effective, or a combination of both.⁴¹¹ This would in no way be particular to Newcastle, as the historiography has repeatedly reinforced that immigrants are allocated the worst quality public authority housing.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, Housing the Bengali Community in the Inner West End, July 1984, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p. 1.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴¹² See Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose Out in Council Housing', R. Skellington, *Council House Allocation in a Multi-racial Town* (Open University, 1980), Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Community Relations Commission, *Local Authority Housing and Race*, Flett, *Council Housing and the Location of Ethnic Minorities*, Housing Services Advisory Group, *Allocation of Council Housing*, Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, Flett, Henderson and Brown, *Some Aspects of the*

Nevertheless, the Director of Housing established that the solution was to encourage consultation with the Gas Board and the council's Energy Advice Unit as well as to distribute information packets in both English and the immigrant's mother-tongue.⁴¹³ There is no available record of whether these suggestions were put into effect or what impact they had. Although it must be recognized that the quality of their housing was inferior to that of the indigenous population, it was nevertheless far superior to that of Muslim immigrants in Bremen.

A further, and perhaps more important, problem that affected the Bengali immigrants who sought council housing was that of racial harassment. In the majority of cases, this took the form of attacks on their property. All of the 17 families that participated in this study conducted by the Director of Housing complained of broken windows.⁴¹⁴ Often, a window could be replaced only to be broken again several hours later. The solution proposed by the council was to replace all the windows with a different form of unbreakable glazing.⁴¹⁵ Again, this problem was not particular to Newcastle. The early 1980s witnessed a large increase in the number of Asian tenants, in particular, who endured racial harassment.⁴¹⁶ This appears to have happened especially in areas that were largely composed of immigrant families. Bentinck Estate fits this description perfectly.

As was the case with the damp problem, the "solution" proposed by the council did not solve the problem. In other words, no suggestion was made as to how to put a stop to these racial incidents and the notion that perhaps support should be offered to those Bengali immigrants who had been targeted was not proposed. As with the consultations with the Gas Board and the Energy Advice Unit, and information packs in mother-tongue languages, these "solutions" merely ensured that the local authority would

Operation of Birmingham's Housing Department, Holmes, *Issues of Access and Allocation in London*, Niner, *Transfer Policies* and Thorpe, *Housing Associations and Ethnic Minorities in Nottingham*.

⁴¹³ Housing the Bengali Community in the Inner West End, July 1984, MD.NC/162/1, p. 2.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴¹⁶ See Home Office, *Racial Attacks* (1981), London Borough of Brent, *Final Report of Working Party on Racial Harassment on Local Authority Housing Estates* (London, 1982), London Race and Housing Forum, *Racial Harassment on Local Authority Housing Estates* (London, 1981), Housing Management Committee, *Racial Harassment on Council Estates* (London, 1981), Karn, 'Race and Housing in Britain', p. 172, A. Mama, 'Violence Against Black Women: Gender, Race and State Responses', *Feminist Review* 32 (1989), pp. 30-48 and D. Thomas, *White Bolts, Black Locks* (Boston, 1986).

not have to spend a lot of capital on either the well-being of these immigrants or on their housing. After all, there is no doubt that it was much more economical to provide them with consultations and leaflets than renovate their heating system, as it was to replace the window instead of tackling the underlying problem.

Indeed, it did not take long for the council to realize that the situation had not improved. In October 1984, the Housing Committee admitted that racial harassment aimed at the Bengali community was still taking place and that, as a result, 'children are kept in, parents rarely go out and families board themselves into their darkened homes for protection.'⁴¹⁷ Consequently, three measures were drawn up as an attempt to rectify the situation. Firstly, immigrant families suffering incidents of racial harassment were to be awarded an increased number of points and given priority in the rehousing scheme.⁴¹⁸ Although this would no doubt provide any given Bengali family with the option of "escaping" the racial harassment they were faced with, it nevertheless demonstrated a certain ignorance concerning the housing patterns of the Bengali community. As has been mentioned, Newcastle's Bengali immigrants, like Bremen's Turkish community, preferred to live amongst themselves and, hence, purposely chose council houses in the areas they did.⁴¹⁹ Hence, it seems unlikely that they would have agreed to be transferred elsewhere.

The second measure took the form of a statement of intent. The Housing Committee felt that a publicized policy issued by the council that condemned racial incidents and threatened the perpetrators with legal action would act as a deterrent as well as offering moral support to the victims.⁴²⁰ The third measure involved offering more direct support to the victims. It was decided that a support network would be created so that the feelings of isolation and fear would decrease.⁴²¹ Although it is doubtful that they would have had a widespread effect, Newcastle City Council was nevertheless addressing the

⁴¹⁷ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee, Racial Harassment in Newcastle, 10 October 1984, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service, p. 2.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴¹⁹ See The Bengali Community in the Inner West End of Newcastle, 31 May 1984, MD.NC/162/1, p. 2, Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, pp. 177-182, N. Deakin and C. Ungerson, *Beyond the Ghetto: The Illusion of Choice* (London, 1973), p. 241, K. Coates and B. Silburn, *Beyond the Bulldozer* (Nottingham, 1980), H. Flett, *Council Housing and the Location of Ethnic Minorities*, p. 27 and J. Edwards and R. Batley, *The Politics of Positive Discrimination* (London, 1978).

⁴²⁰ The Bengali Community in the Inner West End of Newcastle, 31 May 1984, MD.NC/162/1, p. 3.

⁴²¹ Ibid., p. 3.

issue of non-institutionalized racial harassment within the housing sector, which is more than other local authorities. The authorities in Harlow and Nottingham, for example, did not operate such a points system, implying that immigrants suffering from racial harassment would have a much longer wait, if they did want to undergo a council housing transfer.⁴²²

In April 1986, Newcastle City Council conducted a survey in order to establish the success of the measures introduced during the early to mid-1980s.⁴²³ It drew upon an estimated 15,000 cases of people waiting for council housing. The first step of the application form was to describe one's ethnic origin/skin color by choosing from five broad headings: White, Asian, Afro-Caribbean, Chinese and Other.⁴²⁴ The results concluded that 82% were white, 0.68% were Asian, 0.24% were Afro-Caribbean, 0.11% were Chinese, 0.25% fell under the category of Other and 16.2% were unknown because they refused to answer the question. Overall, it was deduced that 98.4% of those on the waiting list for public authority housing were white and only 1.6% were of ethnic minority origin, of which 0.8% were Asian.⁴²⁵ The report concluded that 'black people are less likely to apply for a council house than white people'.⁴²⁶

These results reinforced the conclusions reached by Davies and Taylor twenty years previously.⁴²⁷ Furthermore, these figures also reiterate the manner in which Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community appeared to have historically differed from those in other British cities and benefited from its smaller size. Whilst the established historical literature has concerned itself with addressing the manner in which immigrants are disadvantaged in the council housing allocation process, the aim of owner-occupier status amongst Muslim immigrants in Newcastle has traditionally overridden the

⁴²² See Niner, *Transfer Policies*, p. 4 and Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, p. 86.

⁴²³ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 September 1985-15 July 1987, Monitoring Equal Opportunity of Access to Council Housing, Report by Director of Housing, April 1986, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁴²⁴ This categorisation fits in with the pre-1990s trait of not making clear distinctions between different nationalities, ethnic or religious groups as was seen in the previous chapter on employment. However, judging from Newcastle's ethnic composition, it is safe to assume that the vast majority of those that fell under the category "Asian" were from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh and were Muslim. See Runnymede Trust, *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* (Runnymede Trust, 1997) and Modood, 'The End of Hegemony'.

⁴²⁵ Monitoring Equal Opportunity of Access to Council Housing, April 1986, MD.NC/162/2, p. 23.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴²⁷ See Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*, Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, Davies, *Asian Housing in Britain* and Davies and Taylor, 'Race, Community and No Conflict'.

“temptation” of public authority housing.⁴²⁸ It could be argued, therefore, that the council was adequately reflecting the views of the city’s Muslim immigrant community during the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s by not interfering with their situation in the housing sector. However, it must be realized that this approach taken by the local authority resulted purely from negligence, not from an assessment of and a reaction to the situation.

This study also addressed the issue of overcrowding, which was defined as having more than two people sleep in one room. 35% of white respondents and 56% of Asians fell into this category.⁴²⁹ This high figure amongst Asians not only proves that they undoubtedly received poorer quality housing than whites, but also that the alterations made to the points system in February 1985 had not benefited the immigrant community as a whole.⁴³⁰ The supposed increased ease with which immigrants in council housing were to be able to apply for transfers also seems to have had little effect. According to the survey, 27% of whites applied for transfers compared to only 11% of Asians.⁴³¹ This low figure, however, is unlikely to have been a consequence of a fault within the points scheme, but rather merely a portrayal of the manner in which Muslim immigrants have traditionally preferred to live amongst themselves, regardless of the racial harassment, poor quality housing and overcrowding endured.⁴³² This same trait has been witnessed in Bremen’s district of Gröpelingen.

As proved to be the case regarding the employment sector, immigration to Britain and Germany that resulted from the relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy and the guest-worker rotation system respectively, has had a huge impact on the manner in which Muslim immigrants have approached the housing sectors

⁴²⁸ See Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Duke, *Colour and Rehousing*, Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*, Runnymede Trust, *Race and Council Housing in London*, Smith and Whalley, *Racial Minorities and Council Housing*, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, London Borough of Lewisham, *Black People and Housing in Lewisham*, Community Relations Commission, *Housing Choice and Ethnic Concentration* (London, 1977), Community Relations Commission, *Local Authority Housing and Race*, Flett, *Council Housing and the Location of Ethnic Minorities*, Housing Services Advisory Group, *Allocation of Council Housing*, Lansley, *Housing and Public Policy*, Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, Flett, Henderson and Brown, *Some Aspects of the Operation of Birmingham’s Housing Department*, Holmes, *Issues of Access and Allocation in London*, Niner, *Transfer Policies* and Thorpe, *Housing Associations and Ethnic Minorities in Nottingham*.

⁴²⁹ Monitoring Equal Opportunity of Access to Council Housing, April 1986, MD.NC/162/2, p. 24.

⁴³⁰ Lettings Policy, 14 February 1985, MD.NC/162/2.

⁴³¹ Monitoring Equal Opportunity of Access to Council Housing, April 1986, MD.NC/162/2, p. 26.

⁴³² See The Bengali Community in the Inner West End of Newcastle, 31 May 1984, MD.NC/162/1, p. 2, Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, pp. 177-182, Deakin and Ungerson, *Beyond the Ghetto*, p. 241, Coates and Silburn, *Beyond the Bulldozer*, Flett, *Council Housing*, p. 27 and Edwards and Batley, *The Politics*.

of both countries. From the 1960s onwards, Muslim immigrants in Newcastle may indeed largely have been segregated from the indigenous population in certain districts in the West End but, as a whole, the housing patterns witnessed have been chosen by the immigrants themselves. Whilst their level of integration within this sector could be questioned, there is no denying that, as was the case on the labour market, they have historically manipulated the housing sector to accommodate themselves. The allocation of council housing and the numerous relating problems that have been witnessed around Britain do not appear to have been so widespread in Newcastle.⁴³³

This is, however, not because of the conscientiousness of the local authority or the success of its initiatives in comparison with those of other British cities, but due to the fact that Newcastle's Muslim immigrants have tended to forcefully reject council housing altogether, opting instead for owner-occupancy. With regards to the allocations of council housing, there have been complaints of overcrowding, poor quality facilities and racial harassment, but they have affected a very small proportion of the immigrant community. Furthermore, when compared with the residential segregation initiated by the German guest-worker system, the housing-autonomy of Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community becomes apparent. Unlike in Newcastle with the presence of its Bengali population, which stood outside conventional immigrant housing patterns, the Muslim population of Bremen exhibited no ethno-cultural divide, as it was of a single national origin, namely Turkish. Like many of Newcastle's Muslims, Bremen's Turkish population strove for the eventual goal of owner-occupancy, something that was prevented and frustrated by the guest-worker rotation system.

⁴³³ See Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Henderson and Karn, 'Race, Class and the Allocation of Public Housing in Britain', Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, Rex, *The Ghetto and the Underclass*, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose Out in Council Housing', Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, Flett, *Council Housing and the Location of Ethnic Minorities*, Housing Services Advisory Group, *Allocation of Council Housing*, Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, Flett, Henderson and Brown, *Some Aspects of the Operation of Birmingham's Housing Department*, Holmes, *Issues of Access and Allocation in London*, Niner, *Transfer Policies*, Thorpe, *Housing Associations and Ethnic Minorities in Nottingham*, Burney, *Housing on Trial*, Community Relations Commission, *Housing Choice and Ethnic Concentration*, Community Relations Commission, *Local Authority Housing and Race*, Housing Services Advisory Group, *Allocation*, Lansley, *Housing* and NUPE/SCAT, *Up Against a Brick Wall*.

The 1960s and 1970s: The Allocation of Accommodation to Muslim Guest-workers.

As with the employment sector, Bremen's Muslim immigrants' housing portfolios commenced with their recruitment as guest-workers during the early 1960s at companies, such as AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan. It was their contracts with these companies that restricted the housing experiences of Turkish guest-workers, as the vast majority of them lived in the barrack accommodation that they were offered.⁴³⁴ The housing situation of these guest-workers was touched upon in the previous chapter. However, as housing has often been considered by scholars as a vital determinant of their overall integration, it is necessary to explore this question in more detail.⁴³⁵ As was the case in other German cities, Turkish guest-workers in Bremen lived amongst fellow countrymen, rarely ventured outside the companies' geographical remits and spoke little German. A prime example of this residential segregation was witnessed with the opening of a "house boat" on the river Weser that served as guest-worker accommodation during the mid-1970s.⁴³⁶

Although guest-workers started arriving in Bremen during the early to mid-1960s, the first available archival document providing an in-depth description of their accommodation dates from April 1971.⁴³⁷ It portrays the plans and thoughts of some of the company's representatives concerning the building of new barracks for AG Weser's guest-workers. In total, there were three new blocks that were to be added to the existing stock and two blocks were to be renovated, one into a sports centre with a gym, a

⁴³⁴ See Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, pp. 217-220, Borris, *Les Étrangers à Stuttgart*, pp. 125-126 and Gans, 'Intraurban', p. 117 and Gans, 'Intraurban Migration of Foreigners in Kiel Since 1972'.

⁴³⁵ See Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 149, G. Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', in Ş. Özüekren and R. van Kempen (eds.), *Turks in European Cities: Housing and Urban Segregation* (Utrecht, 1997), p. 140, G. Glebe and B. Waldorf, 'Migration of Guestworkers and Germans: Microlevel Analysis of Neighbourhood Changes in Düsseldorf 1981-1983', in G. Glebe and J. O'Loughlin (eds.), *Foreign Minorities in Continental European Cities* (Wiesbaden, 1987), P. Gans, 'Changes in the Structure of the Foreign Population of West Germany Since 1980', *Migration 7* (1990), pp. 25-49, P. White, 'Immigrants and the Social Geography of European Cities', in R. King (ed.), *Mass Migrations in Europe: The Legacy and the Future* (London, 1993), pp. 65-82, A. Rose, *Migrants in Europe* (Minneapolis, 1969), p. 74 and Y. Diricks and A. Kudat, *Ghettos: Individual or Systemic Choice* (Berlin, 1975).

⁴³⁶ See Wohnungen für Gastarbeiter, 641-02-50/5(10), Senator für Bauwesen Archiv. Multiple documents dating from 1973, *Weser Kurier*, 'Jetzt Wohnschiff für Gastarbeiter?', 09/08/1973, *Weser Kurier*, 'Die Portugiesen ziehen jetzt ein', 06/11/1973 and *Weser Kurier*, '"Casa Marina" hat schon ausgedient', 19/06/1975.

⁴³⁷ Protokoll über die Besichtigung des Unterkunftsgebäudes für Gastarbeiter der Aktiengesellschaft Weser in Bremen-Burg am 28. April 1971, 641-02-50/5(10), Senator für Bauwesen Archiv.

bowling alley and a table tennis room, and the second into an education centre. A description of the size and layout of the older blocks is not provided, but the document does state that a number of changes were to take place, thus illustrating some of the "old ways".⁴³⁸

The accommodation blocks were to differ from their predecessors in that they had to adhere to the regulations that were enforced by the Federal Ministry of Employment (Bundesarbeitsministeriums) starting on 1 April 1971.⁴³⁹ These new regulations mandated that guest-workers had to be allocated increased personal space. At AG Weser, each room now had to be 12 m² in size and could home no more than two guest-workers. This differed from the old rooms that were 16 m², but housed three guest-workers.⁴⁴⁰ Regardless of this increase in personal space, it must be realized that 6 m² per person was by no means spacious and that conditions remained cramped.⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, it is doubtful that the sports and education centres had a positive effect on the daily lives of the guest-workers. Turkish guest-workers who attended German language classes, for example, had specifically stated that they were not effective and were increasingly poorly attended.⁴⁴²

Additionally, their separation from the indigenous population remained constant as these barracks were still occupied by guest-workers who lived and partook in social activities solely amongst themselves. Furthermore, the quality of the living quarters had improved little. Even the company's representatives expressed concerns about the barracks not being suitable as long-term accommodation.⁴⁴³ The land on which the barracks were built was a lowland plateau, which was enclosed by a pond, an industrial site and a busy street. Due to the location, the barracks had been annually infested by

⁴³⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴³⁹ See Protokoll über die Besichtigung des Unterkunftsgebäudes für Gastarbeiter, 28 April 1971, 641-02-50/5(10), p. 2, Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, D. Freiburghaus, *Die Bedeutung der rechtlichen Struktur des Wohnungsmarktes für die Wohnungsversorgung des ausländischen Arbeitskräfte* (Berlin, 1975), B. Mühlens, 'Wohnsituation ausländischer Arbeitnehmer', *Forum Europa* 1 (1976), pp. 21-25 and H. Reimann, 'Die Wohnsituation der Gastarbeiter', in H. Reimann (ed.), *Gastarbeiter* (Munich, 1976).

⁴⁴⁰ Protokoll über die Besichtigung des Unterkunftsgebäudes für Gastarbeiter, 28 April 1971, 641-02-50/5(10), p. 2.

⁴⁴¹ See Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 151-155 and Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, pp. 217-220.

⁴⁴² Merhaba AG Weser!, 2002/2003, Zd. 582, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁴³ Protokoll über die Besichtigung des Unterkunftsgebäudes für Gastarbeiter, 28 April 1971, 641-02-50/5(10), p. 3.

mosquitoes and mice since the mid-1960s. The noise was also a problem as the barracks were not sound proofed. One Turkish man who lived in an AG Weser barrack from 1965 to 1968 said: 'Where we lived was horrible...it was dirty, there were mice everywhere and it was noisy...We had no idea what was happening outside of AG Weser. Most of us did not feel comfortable leaving the company's site.'⁴⁴⁴ These living conditions were not particular to Bremen and resemble those described elsewhere.⁴⁴⁵

AG Weser's representatives also expressed concern about the levels of segregation endured by the company's guest-workers. They agreed that very little was being done by the city of Bremen as a whole, by either the local government or indigenous population, to assist with the integration of the guest-workers. Examples of tension between the guest-workers and the local population were mentioned, the most common involving a school adjacent to the barracks. Throughout the 1960s, there had been numerous incidents in which pupils from this school had shouted racial abuse at groups of Turkish guest-workers.⁴⁴⁶ This problem of racial harassment was reinforced by personal accounts given by Turkish men who were employed at AG Weser at the time.⁴⁴⁷

A further concern was raised about how the building of accommodation for Bremen's guest-workers was approached. It was thought that if the building of housing for immigrants was carried out very differently to that built for the indigenous population, guest-workers would become further isolated. The representatives expressed a desire for immigrant housing to be of the same size and caliber as that of the native population. However, this was immediately deemed improbable as it was AG Weser that financed the accommodation and, without support from the government, it was impossible for guest-worker housing to be improved in such a manner.⁴⁴⁸ Again, these situations were not

⁴⁴⁴ Interview held on 17 March 2006. The Turkish man I spoke to agreed to the interview on the condition that it was not recorded and he could remain anonymous.

⁴⁴⁵ See Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, pp. 217-220, Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 151-155, 'Ein Raum, in dem zehn Männer auf Strohsäcken liegen können', *Die Welt* (22 August 1960), 'Fremd- statt Gastarbeiter?', *Handelsblatt* (16 February 1967) and K. Bingemer and E. Meistermann-Seeger, *Leben als Gastarbeiter* (Cologne, 1972).

⁴⁴⁶ Protokoll über die Besichtigung des Unterkunftsgebäudes für Gastarbeiter, 28 April 1971, 641-02-50/5(10), p. 3.

⁴⁴⁷ I spoke to three Turkish men about this issue. The interviews took place between 17 March 2006 and 5 June 2006. They all wished to remain anonymous and did not want the interviews to be recorded.

⁴⁴⁸ Protokoll über die Besichtigung des Unterkunftsgebäudes für Gastarbeiter, 28 April 1971, 641-02-50/5(10), p. 3.

particular to Bremen, as it was up to the companies to fund guest-worker accommodation across Germany.⁴⁴⁹

The company's representatives claimed that the guest-workers' chances of integration would not only be increased by the size and caliber of their accommodation, but also by limiting their duration of their stays in this type of lodging. By April 1971, a distinction had been made at AG Weser between those guest-workers who intended to return to Turkey once their employment contracts had been terminated and those who planned to remain in Bremen for the long-term. As a result of this, the representatives expressed concern over the length of time that guest-workers should be permitted to reside in barrack accommodation. It was believed that, in order for integration to be enabled, barrack accommodation would only be suitable for two to three years and that, once this time had passed, public authority housing should be sought for Turkish guest-workers and their families.⁴⁵⁰ There were, however, difficulties surrounding the securing of this type of housing and these will be detailed at a later point. During the same year, Bremer Vulkan, Bremen's other major shipbuilding company, also expressed concerns that barrack accommodation impeded the integration of guest-workers because of its location and the fact that the Turkish men had limited contact with their adopted society.⁴⁵¹

Although, as can be seen, there are not many archival documents addressing the housing conditions of Turkish guest-workers at AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan, they nevertheless portray an adequate picture of the situation. Furthermore, they succeed in illustrating the vast contrast in the experiences of Muslim immigrants upon arrival to Bremen and Newcastle. As proved to be the case concerning the employment sector, the guest-worker rotation system had a major impact on the initial housing situation of Muslim immigrants. In Bremen, the 1960s and 1970s witnessed the majority of Turkish guest-workers living in substandard barracks from which their interaction with their adopted society remained minimal. It is evident that Bremen adheres to the established

⁴⁴⁹ See Borris, *Les Étrangers à Stuttgart*, Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labour in Germany*, p. 220 and Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 151.

⁴⁵⁰ Protokoll über die Besichtigung des Unterkunftsgebäudes für Gastarbeiter, 28 April 1971, 641-02-50/5(10), p. 5.

⁴⁵¹ Bremer Vulkan: Bau weiterer Fremdarbeiterheime, 19 October 1971, 7,2121/1-713, Staatsarchiv Bremen, p. 2.

historiography in that the housing experiences of Turkish guest-workers reflected a Germany that perceived itself as not being a nation of immigration.⁴⁵²

The Housing of Muslim Immigrants in Bremen in the 1980s: Guest-workers or Immigrants?

The historiography addressing the performance of immigrants in the Federal Republic during the post-guest-worker years, from the 1980s onwards, is plentiful. Similar to that regarding Britain, it cites immigrants becoming concentrated in poor-quality housing in areas where they remained segregated from the indigenous population. Additionally, in Germany, immigrants faced discrimination due to the lack of a national housing policy administered at the local level.⁴⁵³ Documents regarding the housing of Bremen's Muslim immigrants outside the geographical remits of companies, such as AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan, have mirrored these national trends. They started emerging during the early 1980s, at a very similar time as those in Newcastle.

One of the first documents was issued by the local Department of Civil and Structural Engineering (Der Senator für das Bauwesen) in February 1981 and was entitled 'How do Foreigners in Bremen Live?' ('Wie wohnen Ausländer in Bremen?').⁴⁵⁴ This was the first in-depth study of this type to be carried out in the city and the local

⁴⁵² See Münz and Ulrich, 'Changing Patterns of Immigration to Germany', p. 65, Booth, *The Migration Process in Britain and West Germany*, p. 111 and Faist, 'How to Define a Foreigner?', p. 51.

⁴⁵³ See A. Drever and W. Clark, 'Gaining Access to Housing in Germany: The Foreign-Minority Experience', *Urban Studies* 39 (2002), pp. 2439-2453, Clark and Drever, 'Residential Mobility in a Constrained Housing Market', Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation', pp. 1765-1789, Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns', pp. 637-652, Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne, Germany, 1984-94', J. Friedrichs, *Spatial Disparities and Social Behaviour* (Hamburg, 1982), Gans, 'Intraurban Migration of Foreigners in Kiel Since 1972', Glebe and Waldorf, 'Migration of Guestworkers and Germans', Friedrichs and Alpheis, 'Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany', Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', Friedrichs, 'Social Inequality, Segregation and Urban Conflict', J. Clark, 'Residential Patterns and Social Integration of Turks in Cologne', in R. E. Krane (ed.), *Manpower Mobility Across Cultural Boundaries* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 61-76, P. Gans, 'Innerstädtische Wohnungswechsel und Veränderungen in der Verteilung der ausländischen Bevölkerung in Ludwigshafen/Rhein', *Geographische Zeitschrift* 72 (1984), pp. 81-89, D. Ipsen, 'Segregation, Mobilität und die Chancen auf dem Wohnungsmarkt', *Zeitschrift für Sociologie* 10 (1981), pp. 256-272, H. Bürkner, *Die soziale und sozialräumliche Situation türkischer Migranten in Göttingen* (Saarbrücken, 1987), T. Faist and H. Häußermann, 'Immigration, Social Citizenship and Housing in Germany', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 20 (1996), pp. 83-98, Reimann, 'Die Wohnsituation der Gastarbeiter', Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt' and Dörr and Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States'.

⁴⁵⁴ Der Senator für das Bauwesen, *Wie wohnen Ausländer in Bremen?*, February 1981, 81.b.17, Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek.

government deemed it necessary in order to be able to introduce measures that would assist the immigrant community within the housing sector.⁴⁵⁵ The reason why Bremen's local authority decided to address the city's immigrants' housing situation during the early 1980s was not as straightforward as Newcastle's. In doing so, Bremen also conformed to a national trend, but as a result of local experience, rather than national policy. Firstly, as was the case across Germany, it was during the late 1970s and early 1980s that guest-workers stopped being provided with accommodation by their employers.⁴⁵⁶ This was because many intended to stay in Germany indefinitely, no longer fulfilling the definition of the term "guest-worker". Consequently, immigrants had to fend for themselves on the local housing market for the first time.

Secondly, Bremen's demographic structure and the manner in which immigrants approached the housing sector underwent dramatic changes. Despite the German government banning the recruitment of foreign workers in November 1973, Bremen witnessed an increase in her immigrant population in the years that followed due to family reunification.⁴⁵⁷ This was especially noticeable in the fact that, by 1978, 65% of all children in the city under the age of 18 were of Turkish origin.⁴⁵⁸ By 1980, certain districts had witnessed a large increase in their number of immigrant residents and the district of Gröpelingen and the City Centre, for example, was 12.2% and 11.5% immigrant respectively.⁴⁵⁹

Within the Gröpelingen district, certain areas experienced vast increases in their numbers of immigrant residents between 1973 and 1979. Those of Ohlenhof, Lüssum-Bockhorn and Aumund-Hammersbeck increased by 115%, 112% and 88% respectively.⁴⁶⁰ What resulted was a demand for family properties, rather than just for

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., p. x.

⁴⁵⁶ For Berlin see L. Holzner, 'The Myth of Turkish Ghettos: A Geographic Case Study of West German Responses Towards a Foreign Minority', *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 9 (1982), pp. 65-85. For Kiel see Gans, 'Intraurban Migration of Foreigners in Kiel Since 1972'. For Frankfurt see U. Helmert, 'Konzentrations- und Segregationsprozesse der ausländischen Bevölkerung in Frankfurt am Main', in H. Hoffmann-Nowotny and K. Hondrich (eds.), *Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der Schweiz* (Frankfurt, 1982), pp. 256-293.

⁴⁵⁷ See Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, p. 218, Völker, 'Labour Migration: Aid to the West German Economy?', pp. 12-13 and Mertens and Ankipar, *Türkische Migrantenfamilien*, p. 92.

⁴⁵⁸ Wie wohnen Ausländer in Bremen?, February 1981, 81.b.17, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 4.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

single men. In turn, this process put pressure on the local infrastructure, causing Bremen's government to address the matter.⁴⁶¹ By 1980, the other districts with the largest immigrant communities were Neustadt, Hemelingen, Blumenthal and Vegesack. Compared to Gröpelingen, however, the immigrant communities in these other districts remained small and, as a result, subsequent archival documents have focused primarily on Gröpelingen. Nevertheless, Muslim immigrants in Bremen were spread across a greater proportion of the city than those in Newcastle. As within the labour market, it could have been that this diversification was caused by Bremen's larger immigrant community and an unavailability of housing.

However, as proved to be the case with Newcastle, it appears as though Muslim immigrants in Bremen chose to live in Gröpelingen if housing was available. All of the Turkish men interviewed explicitly stated that they had chosen to live in this district of the city because it had been the only one they were familiar with following their years at the shipyards.⁴⁶² According to one of the interviewees, 'when I lost my job and accommodation at AG Weser, I seriously considered returning to Turkey. I decided to remain in Bremen and send for my family, however, because I knew that my children would have more opportunities here. When I started to look for a flat, I did not even consider looking anywhere outside Gröpelingen.'⁴⁶³

Other Muslim immigrant men interviewed stated that they had chosen to live in Gröpelingen because they felt 'safer amongst their own kind' and because 'a landlord in an affluent district like Schwachhausen would never have agreed to accept Turks as tenants.'⁴⁶⁴ These sentiments are portrayed by the fact that the very few immigrant families that lived in Schwachhausen during the 1960s had moved out by 1973 in order to make way for members of the indigenous population.⁴⁶⁵ The role played by discrimination within the German sector has repeatedly figured in the historical literature,

⁴⁶¹ See Drever and Clark, 'Gaining Access to Housing in Germany' and Clark and Drever, 'Residential Mobility in a Constrained Housing Market'.

⁴⁶² Interviews with Turkish men in Bremen, 17 March-5 June 2006.

⁴⁶³ Interview held on 17 March 2006 at the home of the interviewee in Gröpelingen.

⁴⁶⁴ Interviews held on 8 May and 5 June 2006 at the home and the shop of the interviewee in Gröpelingen respectively.

⁴⁶⁵ *Wie wohnen Ausländer in Bremen?*, February 1981, 81.b.17, p. 4.

both on a national and local level.⁴⁶⁶ However, the notion that Turkish immigrants choose to live in the areas they do has often been ignored by scholars.

It has nevertheless been mentioned occasionally. Ehrkamp argues that Turkish immigrants in Germany often enact their neighbourhoods as "Turkish".⁴⁶⁷ The proliferation and importance of these areas is portrayed in the fact that, in 1992, only 23% of first-generation Turks spoke German.⁴⁶⁸ Glebe states that Turkish immigrants are able to continue living entirely within their own culture, helped by these ethnic neighbourhoods where Turkish television is watched and Turkish newspapers are read.⁴⁶⁹ Fried and Gleicher insist that the immediate neighbourhood is more important to Turkish immigrants than to either the indigenous population or other ethnic groups because they use this outside area as an extension of their homes in which a large proportion of their social interaction takes place.⁴⁷⁰ Friedrichs mentions the desire to live amongst one's own kind as one reason for the residential segregation of Turks in Cologne.⁴⁷¹ Judging from the interviewee's comments, there is little doubt that Bremen's Turkish immigrants chose to live in Gröpelingen in the same way Newcastle's Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis chose to live in the West End, both contrary to the prevalent historiography.

It must be noted, however, that the reasons why Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen chose to live in these districts undoubtedly initially varied. Those in Newcastle chose to live in the West End where their ambition for independence could be fulfilled, as prices were low enough for them to purchase properties. Those in Bremen, to the contrary, appear to have remained in Gröpelingen and its surrounding areas because, having been segregated to that area since arrival, few of them felt compelled to venture away from the localities of the shipyards. In other words, the housing patterns of Muslim immigrants in Bremen depended on the geographical locations of AG Weser and Bremer

⁴⁶⁶ See Clark and Drever, 'Residential Mobility in a Constrained Housing Market', O'Loughlin, 'Distribution and Migration of Foreigners in German Cities', Helmert, 'Konzentrations- und Segregationsprozesse der ausländischen Bevölkerung in Frankfurt am Main', P. Gans, 'Bevölkerungsentwicklung und Wanderungsverflechtungen in Ludwigshafen seit 1970', *Mannheimer Geographische Arbeiten* 10 (1981), pp. 105-115 and Holzner, 'The Myth of Turkish Ghettos'.

⁴⁶⁷ Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities'.

⁴⁶⁸ See G. Schultze, 'Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland auf dem Weg zur multikulturellen Gesellschaft?', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* (1992), pp. 247-269.

⁴⁶⁹ Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', p. 133.

⁴⁷⁰ M. Fried and P. Gleicher, 'Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 27 (1961), pp. 305-315.

⁴⁷¹ Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne', p. 1757.

Vulkan long after the closure of these companies. As time progressed, however, Bremen's Muslim immigrant community remained in Gröpelingen due to low property prices and ethnic security, the same reasons Newcastle's Muslim immigrants were attracted to the West End. This trait has been witnessed in other German cities where the core of the immigrant population has not changed geographical location since the 1960s.⁴⁷²

During the 1970s, the housing situation of immigrants became a key factor in the national debate on immigration. Its link with the overall levels of immigrant integration was highlighted by mayors, the Deutsche Städtetag (The German Conference of Municipal Authorities) and the federal government's Memorandum zur Ausländerpolitik (Memorandum Concerning the Policy on Immigrants).⁴⁷³ The Memorandum zur Ausländerpolitik summed up the government's emphasis on housing when stating that 'the main significance of the housing sector as a positive or negative factor of integration is undisputed.'⁴⁷⁴ During the early 1980s, however, the German government greatly reduced its involvement in the housing sector. It decreased housing subsidies so that market mechanisms could operate to a greater extent, and continued to reduce support for public authority housing and introduced subsidies that would promote economic growth.⁴⁷⁵

As argued by Clark and Drever, a tax-reduction policy was promoted so that more Germans could afford to purchase property and subsidies were provided for deteriorating housing in city centres.⁴⁷⁶ Neither policy was created so that the needs of the vulnerable populations were met.⁴⁷⁷ On the whole, immigrants have stood little opportunity of competing with Germans for social housing. The application process has often been deemed too difficult for anyone with a poor knowledge of German. As a result, only 25%

⁴⁷² For Berlin see Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation'. For Cologne see Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne'. For Düsseldorf see Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns'.

⁴⁷³ Wie wohnen Ausländer in Bremen?, February 1981, 81.b.17, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 1.

⁴⁷⁵ See Heisler, 'Housing Policy and the Underclass', Tomann, 'The Housing Market, Housing Finance and Housing Policy in West Germany' and Ulbrich and Wullkopf, 'Housing Affordability in the Federal Republic of Germany'.

⁴⁷⁶ Clark and Drever, 'Residential Mobility in a Constrained Housing Market', p. 835.

⁴⁷⁷ See Dangschat, 'Concentration of Poverty in the Landscapes of "Boomtown" Hamburg'.

of Germany's foreign population has ever applied for social housing.⁴⁷⁸ Thus, whilst social housing vastly improved the housing conditions of the indigenous population, it has done very little for the immigrant population. This withdrawal of the national government took place during the period in which many immigrant families were venturing onto the housing market for the first time. There is little doubt that it promoted the increased intervention of Bremen's local government during this same period.

One of the first available archival documents dates from June 1979 and describes the supply of housing to the local immigrant community as 'unproblematic'.⁴⁷⁹ This description may well have been accurate during the 1960s and 1970s when most immigrants were living in barrack accommodation. However, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, the influx of immigrant families into the local housing market had become apparent. Bremen's Statistische Monatsberichte (The Monthly Statistical Reports) provide a more accurate insight into the immigrants' standard of housing.⁴⁸⁰ By 1978, a large proportion of Bremen's immigrants had become concentrated either in dilapidated high-density vertical housing in the city's old quarters or in redevelopment areas.

In both cases, their houses were not of equal standard to those of the indigenous population. During the late 1970s, 83% of Bremen's immigrant properties had central heating, a bath and a toilet. 14% had either central heating or a bath and only 3% had neither. It appears as though the quality of housing in Bremen was much higher than in other German cities. What must be realized, however, is that these figures represent housing lived in by all foreigners in Bremen. When examining the available statistics concerning the housing of Bremen's Turkish immigrant community, the difference becomes immediately apparent. Only 21% were equipped with central heating, a bath and a toilet compared with 38% nationwide and 83% of all immigrant housing in Bremen.

⁴⁷⁸ See Leitner, 'Regulating Migrant's Lives', Pahl, *Whose City?* and Arin, 'The Housing Market and Housing Policies for the Migrant Labour Population in West Berlin'.

⁴⁷⁹ Konzeption zur Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen im Lande Bremen, Mitteilungen des Senats an die Bremische Bürgerschaft, 1979, Drucksache 9/1077, Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek, p. 14.

⁴⁸⁰ Statistische Monatsberichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Zur Wohnraumversorgung und Mietbelastung der Haushalte im Lande Bremen. Ergebnisse der 1%-Wohnungstichprobe, Journal 6, June 1980, Statistisches Landesamt Bremen, pp. 135-140.

Furthermore, a high 58% had neither central heating nor a bath compared with a mere 3% of the city's immigrant housing.⁴⁸¹

This low quality housing lived in by Turks was not particular to Bremen. Gans, Drever and Clark argue that Turks are by far Germany's most poorly housed ethnic group.⁴⁸² During the 1970s, in Berlin's Kreuzberg district, where the vast majority of the Turkish community has historically been concentrated, 78% of all apartments had no bath and no inside toilet facilities.⁴⁸³ Similarly, a mid-1970s study of immigrant housing in Cologne concluded that most private dwelling Turkish households lacked central heating and a bath, and had a shared toilet.⁴⁸⁴ Regarding Düsseldorf, Glebe establishes that 14.5% of the Turkish population lived in the city's worst equipped flats compared with only 2.8% of the indigenous population.⁴⁸⁵ As has been discussed, poor quality housing was also a feature in Newcastle.⁴⁸⁶ The difference is that, in Newcastle, this only affected the very small proportion of Muslim immigrants who opted for council housing. In Bremen, on the other hand, poor housing was much more widespread throughout the immigrant community. Furthermore, there is little doubt that the standard of housing amongst immigrants in Newcastle was better. Nowhere in the archival documents is there mention of properties not having a bath or an inside toilet.

As was the case with Newcastle, Muslim immigrants in Bremen have also traditionally suffered overcrowding. In 1978, 6,200 flats were occupied by Turkish families. Of these, a vast 79% were 60 m² or less, 16% were between 60 m² and 80 m², and only 5% were larger than 80 m². Furthermore, 26% of households with five or more people lived in flats that were smaller than 80 m². Of these, 83% were occupied by immigrant families of which, undoubtedly, the majority was Turkish.⁴⁸⁷ Again, overcrowding was a problem pertinent across Germany. Glebe points out that, in Düsseldorf in 1987, the average amount of housing space was 22.9 m² in a Turkish

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., p. 137.

⁴⁸² See Gans, 'Intraurban Migration of Foreigners in Kiel Since 1972' and Drever and Clark, 'Gaining Access to Housing in Germany'.

⁴⁸³ See J. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, 'Community Change and Invasion: The Case of the Turkish Guest Workers', in J. Friedrichs (ed.), *Spatial Disparities and Social Behaviour* (Hamburg, 1982), p. 118.

⁴⁸⁴ See Clark, 'Residential Patterns and Social Integration of Turks in Cologne', p. 69.

⁴⁸⁵ Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', p. 143.

⁴⁸⁶ Housing the Bengali Community in the Inner West End, July 1984, MD.NC/162/2, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁷ Zur Wohnraumversorgung und Mietbelastung der Haushalte im Lande Bremen, June 1980, p. 136.

household compared with 35.9 m² in a German household.⁴⁸⁸ Reimann adds that, during the mid-1980s, 72% of foreign households in Augsburg had more than 1.4 persons per room compared with only 15% of German households.⁴⁸⁹

It is difficult to state whether Bremen's overcrowding problems were the result of discrimination within the city's housing market or of inherent problems with the housing stock. As is stressed in the June 1980 *Statistische Monatsberichte*, Bremen suffered from a lack of large houses and flats.⁴⁹⁰ It is in this monthly bulletin that the government puts this problem of overcrowding down to the destruction that had taken place during the war bombings. In 1945 alone, out of a total of 130,000 houses, 70,000 were either damaged or completely destroyed. The greatest damage was in the West End of the city, the area into which the majority of Muslim immigrants subsequently moved.⁴⁹¹ The notion that this was the sole reason for overcrowding amongst immigrants is doubtful. However, the fact that, as in Newcastle, large immigrant families strained the existing housing stock cannot be disregarded. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that, as overcrowding was a problem in many German cities, it cannot be explained by means of a local housing shortfall.⁴⁹²

There are other possible reasons as to why a large proportion of Bremen's Muslim immigrant population lived in poor quality housing in such overcrowded positions during the post-guest-worker era. The first was their economic situation. Although a 1991 study insisted that there is no link between prosperity and standards of housing, there is little doubt that, especially when compared to the situation in Newcastle, the housing of Bremen's Muslim immigrants has been determined by affordability.⁴⁹³ As discussed in the previous chapter, immigrants in Bremen have chronologically lagged behind those in Newcastle in terms of labour market success. It appears as though this also held true for the housing sector. The historical literature has demonstrated that immigrants in German cities are overrepresented in the privately rented sector and underrepresented in that of

⁴⁸⁸ Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', p. 142.

⁴⁸⁹ Reimann, 'Die Wohnsituation der Gastarbeiter', p. 183.

⁴⁹⁰ Zur Wohnraumversorgung und Mietbelastung der Haushalte im Lande Bremen, June 1980, pp. 136-137.

⁴⁹¹ Die türkische Arbeitsmigration in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland bis zum "Anwerbestopp" 1973 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung in der Stadt Bremen, 954U, Staatsarchiv Bremen, p. 29.

⁴⁹² For Düsseldorf see Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany'. For Augsburg see Reimann, 'Die Wohnsituation der Gastarbeiter'. For Cologne see Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne'. For Berlin see Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation'.

⁴⁹³ See Friedrichs and Alpheis, 'Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany'.

owner-occupation.⁴⁹⁴ Specific statistics are not available, though a December 1985 local government document stated that Bremen's immigrants were predominantly concentrated in rented dwelling, whilst the majority of Germans were owner-occupiers.⁴⁹⁵ This correlates with the 1987 figures for Düsseldorf, for example, which put 98.2% of Turkish households in rented apartments.⁴⁹⁶

Furthermore, immigrants did not initially spend a lot of their earnings on housing, as their future in Germany was insecure and many regularly sent money to relatives back in Turkey.⁴⁹⁷ Scholars have shown, however, that remittance transfers to Turkey gradually decreased during the 1980s, whilst consumption expenditure on household goods in Germany sharply increased.⁴⁹⁸ Regardless of increased available capital to spend on property, some scholars have argued that Turkish immigrants chose to rent because their households often housed two or three people with incomes.⁴⁹⁹ It has even been suggested that Turks in Germany would pay higher rent if better quality properties were available to them.⁵⁰⁰

With regards to social housing, the percentage of immigrants in Bremen who take advantage of this type of housing does not feature in any of the available documents. There are numerous factors, however, that suggest that this figure is relatively low. Firstly, as previously stated, since the 1960s, investment in social housing had declined and, in 1985, the federal government stopped financing new social rented accommodation altogether.⁵⁰¹ Consequently, social housing construction was halved

⁴⁹⁴ See V. Eichener, 'Außenseiter und Etablierte. Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt', in H. Korte (ed.), *Gesellschaftliche Prozesse und individuelle Praxis: Bochumer Vorlesungen zu Norbert Elias Zivilisationstheorie* (Frankfurt, 1990), pp. 160-178. For Berlin see Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation'. For Düsseldorf see Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns'.

⁴⁹⁵ Statistische Monatsberichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, 'Bremen kleinräumig', December 1985, Statistisches Landesamt Bremen, p. 169.

⁴⁹⁶ See Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', p. 142.

⁴⁹⁷ See Holzner, 'The Myth of Turkish Ghettos', p. 72.

⁴⁹⁸ See F. Sen, *Probleme und Eingliederungseingänge der türkischen Migranten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Geneva, 1992) and F. Sen and A. Goldberg, *Türken in Deutschland. Leben zwischen zwei Kulturen* (Munich, 1994).

⁴⁹⁹ See Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', p. 144 and Marplan, *Ausländer in Deutschland 1994. Soziale Situation* (Offenbach, 1994).

⁵⁰⁰ See Regierender Bürgermeister Berlin, *Wohnraumversorgung von Ausländern und Entballung überlasteter Gebiete durch städtebauliche Maßnahmen* (Berlin, 1980).

⁵⁰¹ See Tomann, 'The Housing Market, Housing Finance and Housing Policy in West Germany', p. 925, Heisler, 'Housing Policy and the Underclass', Ulbrich and Wullkopf, 'Housing Affordability in the Federal Republic of Germany', Clark and Drever, 'Residential Mobility in a Constrained Housing Market',

between 1960 and 1986, undoubtedly decreasing the availability of such accommodation in Bremen, as well as in other German cities.⁵⁰² Secondly, from the 1970s onwards, Germany's *Länder* governments have increased the price of older dwellings in order to make them more consistent with those of newer dwellings. On the whole, this has led to rents in the social housing sector increasing at a faster pace than rents in the private letting sector.⁵⁰³ The results of this were witnessed in a 1991 study of Northrhine-Westphalia where only 3% of rented accommodation consisted of social housing.⁵⁰⁴

Furthermore, Muslim immigrants in Germany were increasingly striving for independence within the housing sector as in that of employment. In 1994, an estimated 11% of Turkish households owned a house or flat, a figure that was bound to rise due to the 34.6% of Turkish households that had saving accounts with building societies compared with only 19% of German households.⁵⁰⁵ This endeavor for owner-occupancy amongst Turks has also been witnessed in Düsseldorf and Duisburg.⁵⁰⁶ As with their ambition for economic autonomy, this preference for independence within the housing sector mirrors that of Muslim immigrants in Newcastle. What must now be considered is how the relationship between housing and the immigrant community was approached by Bremen's local authority.

The Housing of Muslim Immigrants in Bremen: The Redevelopment of Immigrant Housing in the District of Gröpelingen in the Early 1980s.

As well as the recognition of immigrant social needs, the 1980s also witnessed the implementation of certain measures that were to improve the living conditions of immigrants in the Gröpelingen district. In a 1985 report, Bernd Meyer, the head of Bremen's Building Department (Senator für das Bauwesen), stated that 'the improvement of the living situation of foreign workers is one of the deciding factors of a successful

Dangschat, 'Concentration of Poverty in the Landscapes of "Boomtown" Hamburg', Leitner, 'Regulating Migrants' Lives', Pahl, *Whose City?* and Arin, 'The Housing Market and Housing Policies for the Migrant Labour Population in West Berlin'.

⁵⁰² See Friedrichs and Alpheis, 'Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany'.

⁵⁰³ See Tomann, 'The Housing Market, Housing Finance and Housing Policy in West Germany', p. 926.

⁵⁰⁴ See J. Vesper, 'Das Abschmelzen des Sozialwohnungsbestandes. Ursachen und Auswirkungen auf unterschiedlichen regionalen Wohnungsmärkten', *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* 5 (1991), p. 371.

⁵⁰⁵ See Sen and Goldberg, *Türken in Deutschland*.

⁵⁰⁶ See Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany' and Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities'.

integration process.'⁵⁰⁷ This report goes on to provide a detailed explanation of steps taken towards the modernization of flats in Gröpelingen taken in 1981 and 1982. The emphasis was on this district undoubtedly because, since the day the first group of Turkish guest-workers arrived at AG Weser, it had always housed the largest concentration of the city's Muslim immigrants. This was due to the fact that rents were lower than in other areas of the city and, arguably, because some Turkish immigrants did not wish to venture far from the area they felt acquainted with. In May 1981, 12% of its residents were of immigrant origin, a figure that had increased by 150% since 1973.⁵⁰⁸

In 1981, there were five blocks of flats in the Gröpelingen areas of Lindenhof and Ohlenhof in which every second resident was of immigrant origin, the majority of which were Turkish. Those in Lindenhof were owned by private landlords who most probably felt forced to let their flats out to immigrant families as the area had been abandoned by a large proportion of the indigenous population. Those in Ohlenhof were part of the city's social housing scheme and were rented out to the families who needed them most.⁵⁰⁹ Though they housed a large proportion of the city's immigrant population, Bremen's local authority stressed that they could not be classified as ghettos.⁵¹⁰ Nevertheless, the following poem, written by a group of immigrant residents of Gröpelingen, describes the feeling of despair present amongst the district's immigrants. Although names and nationalities are not mentioned, one can assume that it was written by Turkish immigrants who had either worked at AG Weser themselves or were relatives of someone who had. Translated from the German, the poem reads as follows:

These few lines which were compiled
by the inhabitants of the district
on the occasion of a local fair,
describe the situation
better than numbers and statistics ever could.

⁵⁰⁷ Wohnen in Gröpelingen. Modernisierung von Wohnungen für ausländische Arbeitnehmer, December 1985, Ae-9994-20, Staatsarchiv Bremen, p. x.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵¹⁰ Wohnen in Gröpelingen, December 1985, Ae-9994-20, p. 8 and Statistische Monatsberichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Keine Ausländerghettos in der Stadt Bremen, Journal 5, July 1981, Statistisches Landesamt Bremen, pp. 169-173.

We're talking about Gröpelingen,
district of Bremen.

The closure of the shipyard AG Weser:
Unemployment...
A high proportion of immigrants:
Immigration control...
The return of immigrants to their Homelands:
Evacuation...

Is there still hope for this district?⁵¹¹

This poem alone provides a vital insight into the housing conditions of Bremen's Muslim immigrant community. It reiterates the strong link between the employment and housing sectors, which marks a clear contrast with the situation in Newcastle where it has never been the case that the inhabitants of entire blocks of flats, rows of houses, or whole neighbourhoods have been employed by the same company. Furthermore, it depicts the feeling of despair present amongst Gröpelingen's immigrant population. Yet, the Turkish immigrants interviewed explicitly stated they would not consider living in any other area of the city. This reinforces the often ignored notion that immigrants enact their neighborhoods as "Turkish" and illustrates the extent to which their immediate community is important to them.⁵¹²

By the early 1980s, this feeling of despair could no longer be disregarded by the local authority and consequently, in 1981, a project was devised that was to modernize housing in the sub-districts of Lindenhof and Ohlenhof. In December 1981, the project was approved by the Bundesminister für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Städtebau (The Secretary of Development, Structural Engineering and Urban Planning) and was allocated half a million German Marks of federal money. Both landlords and tenants of the blocks of flats in question were informed of the exact details. Landlords had the right to state that they did not wish for their properties to be included in the redevelopment

⁵¹¹ Wohnen in Gröpelingen, December 1985, Ae-9994-20, p. x.

⁵¹² See Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities', Schultze, 'Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland auf dem Weg zur multikulturellen Gesellschaft?', Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', Fried and Gleicher, 'Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction' and Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne'.

plans. However, as it was not going to cost them anything, it was in their interest to accept the offer.⁵¹³

Those landlords who did accept the redevelopment offer had to agree to abide to certain conditions once the work was completed. Firstly, a limit was set on the amount of rent that could be charged, which was agreed at DM 6.40 per m² in accordance with the regulations concerning public authority housing that were in place in the City-State of Bremen at the time.⁵¹⁴ Secondly, the landlords of these flats were obliged to rent at least half of their properties in these redeveloped blocks out to immigrant families for the nine years following the redevelopment. It was believed that relations between the immigrant community and the indigenous population would improve if 50% of each building was lived in by each group. Bremen's local authority intended that this policy would severely decrease the chances of ethnic residential "ghettoisation".⁵¹⁵ Although this figure of 50% was a minimum, one can assume that the likelihood of this figure ever surpassing this mark was low due to the notoriety of German landlords not liking to accept immigrants as tenants.⁵¹⁶

However, one facet within these regulations was that the local government attempted to get the immigrant tenants to complete some of the redevelopment work themselves. In return, they would be offered lower rent payments.⁵¹⁷ Despite this offer of lower monthly payments, this was not welcomed amongst the local immigrant community. One man said: 'How are we supposed to do this work?...We cannot work as fast as professional companies. The delays would be unbearable for our families.'⁵¹⁸ The

⁵¹³ See Wohnen in Gröpelingen, December 1985, Ae-9994-20, p. 16, *Weser Kurier*, 'Millionenspritze gegen den Verfall. Modellvorhaben zur Wohnungsmodernisierung im Westen/Bonn zahlt 500.000 Mark', 09/01/1982 and *Bremer Nachrichten*, 'Sonderprogramm für Westen. Wohnverhältnisse der Ausländer sollen verbessert werden', 07/05/1982.

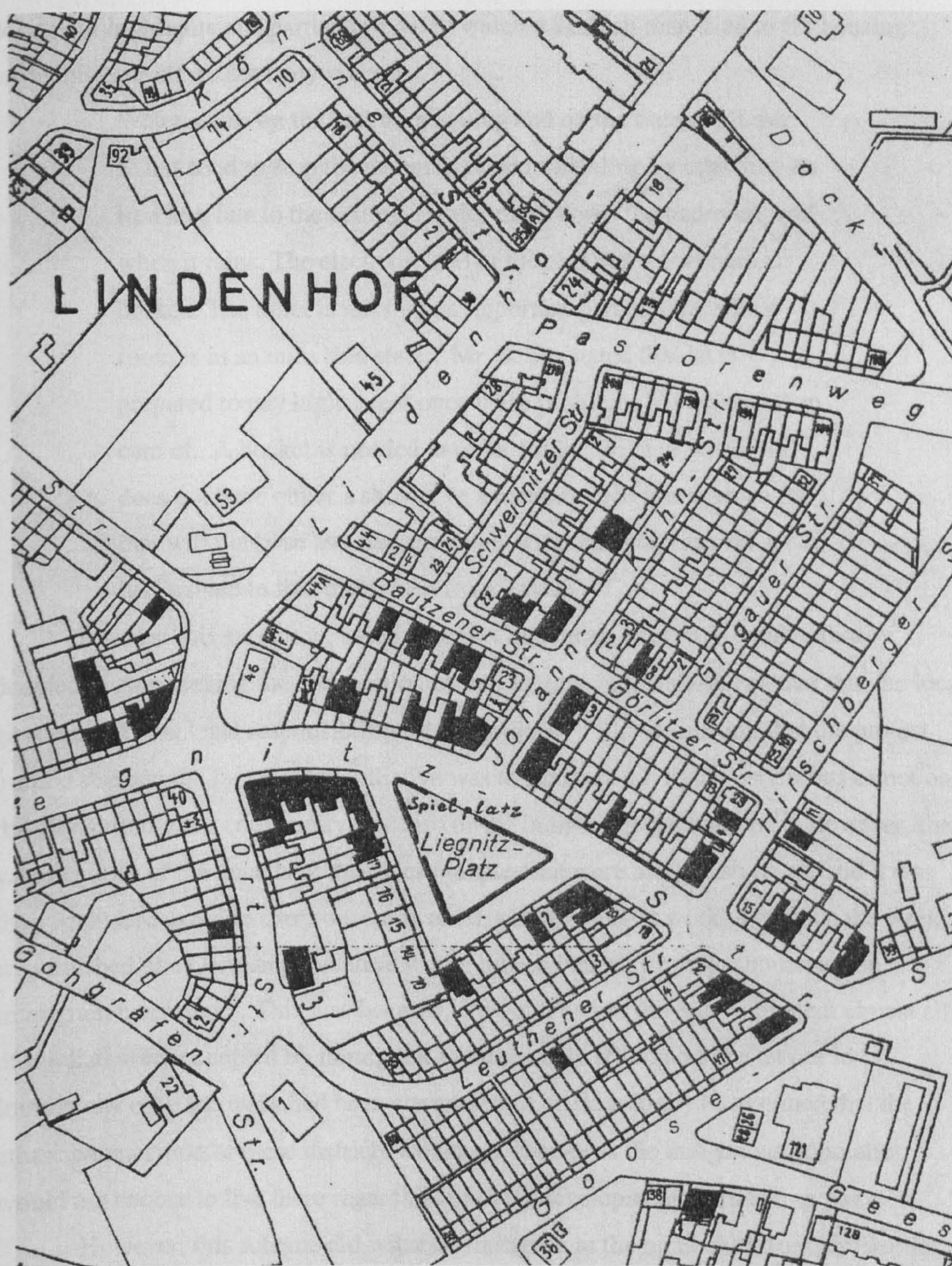
⁵¹⁴ Wohnen in Gröpelingen, December 1985, Ae-9994-20, p. 19.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵¹⁶ See Dörr and Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States', p. 418, Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt', p. 435, G. Glebe, 'Segregation and Migration of the Second Generation of Guestworker Minorities in Düsseldorf', *Espace, Populations et Sociétés* (1990/1992), pp. 257-278, Glebe and Waldorf, 'Migration of Guestworkers and Germans', V. Kreibich, 'Wohnversorgung und Wohnstandortverhalten', in J. Friedrichs (ed.), *Die Städte in den 80er Jahren: Demographische, ökonomische und technologische Entwicklung* (Opladen, 1985), pp. 181-195 and Pahl, *Whose City?*

⁵¹⁷ Wohnen in Gröpelingen, December 1985, Ae-9994-20, p. 21.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., p. 21.



Map showing the blocks of flats in Lindenhof in which the City's Muslim population was concentrated at the beginning of the 1980s and which were therefore considered to be included in the redevelopment scheme.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

document highlights one particular case in which a Turkish man tried to fix housing problems himself without any success:

Water stains on the bedroom ceiling and on the outer wall. Mr. S. has tried to stop the dampness from spreading by attaching an iron hotplate to the ceiling...Water drips down the bedroom wall when it rains. The electrical lead in the children's bedroom is broken. The toilet is missing an important part and the whole room is in an unlivable state...Mr. S. has stated that he is prepared to pay higher rent once these problems have been taken care of...A bucket is needed in order for the toilet to work. He does not have either a shower or a bathtub...He just wants a flat that will not pose any dangers to his wife and children who have just arrived to live in Bremen from Turkey.⁵²⁰

It was at this stage that, based on cases like these, Bremen's local authority decided to stop seeking the cooperation of immigrants and, instead, ensured that the local government took legal responsibility for the project.⁵²¹ It is interesting that the project outline stressed the fact that the initiative was to improve the living conditions of not only the city's immigrant community, but also of the indigenous population.⁵²² However, the vast majority of the tenants of the blocks in question were of Turkish origin and it was they who were asked to carry out some of the redevelopment work. Yet, once the work was finished, the German population would indeed benefit from it as much as the immigrant community. This was because, although before the redevelopment almost all of the flats were occupied by immigrant families, only 50% had to be let out to immigrants once the work had been completed. It could initially be assumed that the ethnic composition of these districts would not change as the indigenous population would not choose to live there regardless of the redevelopment work taking place.

However, this scheme did witness a decrease in the number of Turkish families who lived in these areas, as some could not afford the post-redevelopment prices. Although the rent was not permitted to rise above DM 6.40 per m², this was nevertheless

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵²¹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁵²² Ibid., p. 16.

more than what immigrant families had previously paid. Mr. S., for example, paid DM 4.78 per m² before the redevelopment took place.⁵²³ After the work had been completed on his home, he moved back to Turkey with his family, as he was not able to afford the increase in rent.⁵²⁴ It is not certain whether he was asked to pay the maximum of DM 6.40 per m² but, if this was the case, his rent would have increased by a substantial amount per month. For example, if his flat were 80 m² in size, his rent would have increased by DM 130 per month. It appears as though it was to be ensured that these areas did not turn into immigrant ghettos, but through a decrease in the number of immigrants as well as an improvement in the housing conditions.

The project went ahead, now without the expectation of the immigrants' services. Furthermore, it was extended to cover a group of other flats in Bremen. By the summer of 1982, there were so many landlords wanting to participate in the redevelopment scheme that the budget had to be increased from half a million DM to one million and then to two million.⁵²⁵ Overall, the project was deemed a success. Compared with other cities in Germany, more immigrants were able to pay the increased rents and remain living in the modernized flats.⁵²⁶ Furthermore, more than 50% of the flats were occupied by immigrant families during the post-development years, annulling the fear that immigrants would be usurped by German families.⁵²⁷ In fact, the project was seen as having been so successful that, already by 1984, Bremen had been granted a further DM 440,000 of central funds for the redevelopment of further immigrants housing in Gröpelingen.⁵²⁸ Further details of this second redevelopment scheme are not available.

The measures taken by Bremen's local authority throughout this redevelopment project were not dissimilar to those of other German cities. In 1978, Berlin's Social Democrat-Liberal coalition government introduced a measure that stated that a certain percentage of rentable apartments in all districts should be reserved for foreigners. This percentage was set at 10% and, in 1982, was raised to 15%. Furthermore, in the district of Kreuzberg, Berlin's district with by far the largest immigrant population, four thousand

⁵²³ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., p. 40.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., p. 33.

apartments were renovated by the end of 1988.⁵²⁹ Bremen's 1980s's housing policy towards immigrants seems to have been more effective than Berlin's in that a higher percentage of renovated flats were reserved for immigrants.

However, it must be noted that the measure discussed addressed only two blocks in the Gröpelingen district. In Berlin, to the contrary, foreigners were to have access to flats around the city, a policy that the local government hoped would combat segregation. However, the policy merely resulted in German landlords renting properties out to Western foreigners, the term "foreigner" not having been adequately defined in the policy.⁵³⁰ Furthermore, it could be argued that, like Bremen's Muslim immigrants, those in Berlin did not want to leave the districts they lived, and felt secure, in.⁵³¹

It also seems that Bremen's 1980s redevelopment project proved more beneficial for immigrants than the measures introduced by other cities at the time. In Düsseldorf, this decade witnessed the funding of properties in the city's outskirts, instead of in the inner-city areas where the vast majority of immigrants lived. Consequently, few immigrants reaped the benefits.⁵³² Cities like Hanover, Frankfurt and Cologne applied the 1975 federal government quota for urban regions, which stated that certain areas could be declared "overburdened" if their populations were more than 12% immigrant. Munich even declared some of its areas "overburdened" when they were not, in order to avoid immigrants residing there.⁵³³ The late 1970s and 1980s witnessed a widespread fear across Germany about the high concentration of foreigners in certain areas. Yet Bremen, a city that could have introduced this restriction, did not.

It appears as though Newcastle and Bremen's local authorities treated their respective Muslim immigrant communities within the housing sector better than was often seen in their respective nations. Newcastle, unlike many other British cities, did not organize its clearance programs around the immigrant population and immigrants in Bremen were undoubtedly the recipients of beneficial housing measures compared with

⁵²⁹ See Arin, 'The Housing Market and Housing Policies for the Migrant Labour Population in West Berlin', pp. 208-209.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., p. 209.

⁵³¹ See Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities', Schultze, 'Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland auf dem Weg zur multikulturellen Gesellschaft', Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', Fried and Gleicher, 'Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction' and Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne'.

⁵³² See Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns', p. 649.

⁵³³ See Leitner, 'Regulating Migrants' Lives', p. 80.

other German cities.⁵³⁴ In many ways, the 1980's housing situation of Bremen's Muslim immigrants was the result of their economic position. Whilst Newcastle's immigrants were able to reject council housing in favour of owner-occupancy, Bremen's were financially vulnerable to each redevelopment stage.

In both cities, the housing situation of Muslim immigrants was dependent upon the nature of their arrival, whether free or restrictive, the pre-existing state of social housing and the degree of autonomy enjoyed by their respective local authorities. As within the employment sphere, the post-colonial free market economy made it possible for Newcastle's immigrants to make their own way through its shops, businesses and terraces, the guest-worker system in Bremen imposed an artificial and restrictive housing-leash around the Turkish immigrants. Although companies, such as AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan, ceased in the early 1980s, their legacy can still be seen in the housing patterns of Turkish immigrants, not only due to the restrictions they placed on their accommodation, but also their socio-cultural boundaries.

Conclusion: New Islamabad, New Ankara, Old Problems.

As with the employment sector, there is little doubt that Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy and Germany's guest-worker rotation system had a large impact on Muslim immigrants' initial housing patterns. From as early as the 1960s, Newcastle's immigrants had succeeded in attaining the owner-occupancy status, knowing that they had settled for the long-term. In Bremen, to the contrary, immigrants had only moved onto the local housing market after having first experienced the confinement of their respective employer. However, as time passed, the housing traits of the immigrant communities of both cities have merged, despite Britain's and Germany's national housing policy differing greatly.⁵³⁵ They have chosen to live in

⁵³⁴ See Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 29,

⁵³⁵ See Karn, 'Wohnversorgung ethnischer Minderheiten in Großbritannien', Ginsburg, 'Race, Racism and Social Policy in Western Europe', Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt' and Dörr and Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States'.

established ethnic areas and, when possible, in their own properties.⁵³⁶ Furthermore, it can be assumed that their choices have not been the result of either the British or German immigration process, or the regional patriotism of their adopted societies, but rather are the same as those expressed by other immigrant communities around the Western world.⁵³⁷

There is little doubt that the Muslim immigrant communities of both cities are indeed segregated, but it must be realized that, contrary to the established historical literature, this isolation seems to be the result of the communities' choices, rather than of institutionalized or non-institutionalized discrimination.⁵³⁸ Newcastle diverges from the historiography in that its immigrants have not traditionally depended on the council's housing scheme in which they suffer discrimination, whilst Bremen adheres to the German literature in that its immigrants have often found themselves concentrated in the city's worst quality housing.⁵³⁹ Newcastle's Muslim immigrants have undoubtedly had an

⁵³⁶ See Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities', Schultze, 'Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland auf dem Weg zur multikulturellen Gesellschaft?', Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', Fried and Gleicher, 'Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction' and Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne'.

⁵³⁷ For regional patriotism in Newcastle see Todd, 'Black-on-Tyne' and Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?'. For Bremen see Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen', p. 5 and Buse, 'Urban and National Identity'. For owner-occupancy in the Western world see Sjøholt, 'Ethnic Minority Groups and Strategies in the Housing Market in Oslo' and Light, 'Immigrant Place Entrepreneurs in Los Angeles'.

⁵³⁸ For Britain see Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Henderson, Karn and Brown, *Improving the Opportunities of Racial Minorities in Council Housing*, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose Out in Council Housing' and Dörr and Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States'. For Germany see See Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt', Geiger, 'Ausländer im Ghetto', Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities', Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, Meis, *Aspekte struktureller und differentieller Mobilität von Ausländern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation' and Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns'.

⁵³⁹ For Britain see Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City*, Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Burnley, *Housing on Trial*, Duke, *Colour and Rehousing*, Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*, Runnymede Trust, *Race and Council Housing in London*, Smith and Whalley, *Racial Minorities and Council Housing*, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, London Borough of Lewisham, *Black People and Housing in Lewisham*, Community Relations Commission, *Housing Choice and Ethnic Concentration*, Community Relations Commission, *Local Authority Housing and Race*, Flett, *Council Housing and the Location of Ethnic Minorities*, Gray, 'Selection and Allocation in Council Housing', Housing Services Advisory Group, *Allocation of Council Housing*, Lansley, *Housing and Public Policy*, Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, Flett, Henderson and Brown, *Some Aspects of the Operation of Birmingham's Housing Department*, Holmes, *Issues of Access and Allocation in London*, Niner, *Transfer Policies* and Thorpe, *Housing Associations and Ethnic Minorities in Nottingham*. For Germany see Drever and Clark, 'Gaining Access to Housing in Germany', Clark and Drever, 'Residential Mobility in a Constrained Housing Market', Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation', Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns', Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne', Friedrichs, *Spatial Disparities and Social Behaviour*, Gans, 'Intraurban Migration of Foreigners in Kiel Since 1972', Glebe

advantage over those of Bremen in that their ethnic community is much smaller and, therefore, a greater amount and variety of housing has been available to them. Although there has always been a sharp contrast in the quality and type of housing occupied, it is nevertheless interesting that, despite Germany's privately negotiated labour scheme and Britain's free economic and cultural immigration process, the housing situations in Newcastle and Bremen have become increasingly similar as time passes. Adhering to the theories offered by Ehrkamp and Cohen, they have settled and placed their identities in certain neighbourhoods in the West Ends of their cities.⁵⁴⁰ Fenham, like Gröpelingen, is dominated by mosques, foreign cuisine, women who wear the *hijab*, satellite dishes that pick up foreign television channels, and houses and flats that, when stepping into them, one foot remains in Newcastle or Bremen, the other enters New Delhi or Ankara.

Newcastle is home to Muslim immigrants who attained owner-occupancy during the 1960s and Bremen to those who want to purchase property as they do establish their own businesses. What can be witnessed are two immigrant communities climbing the hierarchy of the economist, Maslow, in which self-actualization is the ultimate goal.⁵⁴¹ A common parallel with both Bremen and Newcastle is that the areas of residence chosen by the immigrants were overwhelmingly working class. It could therefore be suggested that, contrary to the established historiography, these decisions of residency were not so much made on considerations of race, but on class.⁵⁴² In other words, it appears as though

and Waldorf, 'Migration of Guestworkers and Germans', Friedrichs and Alpheis, 'Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany', Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', Friedrichs, 'Social Inequality, Segregation and Urban Conflict', Clark, 'Residential Patterns and Social Integration of Turks in Cologne', Gans, 'Innerstädtische Wohnungswechsel und Veränderungen in der Verteilung der ausländischen Bevölkerung in Ludwigshafen/Rhein', Ipsen, 'Segregation, Mobilität und die Chancen auf dem Wohnungsmarkt', Bürkner, *Die soziale und sozialräumliche Situation türkischer Migranten in Göttingen*, Faist and Häußermann, 'Immigration, Social Citizenship and Housing in Germany', Reimann, 'Die Wohnsituation der Gastarbeiter', Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt' and Dörr and Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States'.

⁵⁴⁰ Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities' and Cohen, *Global Diasporas*.

⁵⁴¹ See R. Lowry, *Dominance, Self-Esteem, Self-Actualization: Germinal Papers of A. H. Maslow* (Monterey, 1973) and L. Gratton, *An Empirical Validation of Maslow's Need Hierarchy in the Work and Non-Work Setting* (Liverpool, 1981).

⁵⁴² See Duncan, *Housing Disadvantage and Residential Mobility*, Simpson, *Stacking the Decks*, Rex and Moore, *Race, Class and Conflict*, Adeney, 'Equal Opportunity and the Neighbourhood', Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation', Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns', Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne', Gans, 'Intraurban Migration of Foreigners in Kiel Since 1972', Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, Power, *Racial Minorities and Council Housing in Islington*, Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose Out in Council

Newcastle and Bremen's working class residential areas have a magnetism over the cities' Muslim immigrant communities. Though the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi restaurant worker and shop-assistant live almost exclusively in the West End of Newcastle, they do so often alongside or in close proximity to the white check-out girl and shelf-stacker.

Similarly, in Gröpelingen, the Turkish immigrants were seen to have followed the residence patterns of their German predecessors. It can therefore be recognized that neither Gröpelingen nor Fenham noted any demographic or sociological shift in their area make-up prior, during or after the arrival of immigrants. The pre-existing literature has committed the error of isolating the immigrant from the rest of British and German society. It is necessary to recognize that Muslim immigrants in both Newcastle and Bremen have followed their desired housing patterns. This was seen particularly in Newcastle where the Bengalis opted for council housing whilst the vast majority of the Muslim immigrant community preferred owner-occupancy. Indeed, these immigrants in both cities have endured discrimination and poor housing conditions but, on the whole, they are two communities who are increasingly fulfilling their housing aims. It is doubtful that the housing situation in either city is evidence of complete integration having taken place. Rather they have formed their own communities that are content to coexist alongside the indigenous population.

Housing', Henderson and Karn, 'Race, Class and the Allocation of Public Housing in Britain' and Smith and Whalley, *Racial Minorities and Council Housing*.

Chapter 4: The Education Sector

Introduction: The Education of Muslim Immigrant Children and Youths in Newcastle & Bremen.

The importance of educational experiences amongst immigrant youths in both Britain and Germany remains undisputed in the established historiography.⁵⁴³ Since the 1960s, both countries have witnessed a vast increase in the number of immigrant pupils

⁵⁴³ For Britain see G. Bowker, *The Education of Coloured Immigrants* (London, 1968), T. Burgin and P. Edson, *Spring Grove: The Education of Immigrant Children* (London, 1967), P. Evans and R. Le Page, *The Education of West Indian Immigrant Children* (London, 1967), J. Derrick, *Teaching English to Immigrants* (London, 1966), N. Hawkes, *Immigrant Children in British Schools* (London, 1966), E. McEwen, C. Gipps and R. Sumner, *Language Proficiency in the Multi Racial Junior School* (Slough, 1975), J. Power, *Immigrants in School: A Survey of Administrative Policies* (London, 1967), J. Stoddart and F. Stoddart, *Teaching of English to Immigrant Children* (London, 1968), F. Taylor, *Race, School and Community: A Survey of Research and Literature on Education in Multiracial Britain* (Slough, 1974), H. Townsend and E. Brittan, *Organization in Multiracial Schools* (Slough, 1972), J. Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children* (Slough, 1977), B. Coard, *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-normal in the British School System* (London, 1971), J. Bhatnagar, *Immigrants at School* (London, 1970), R. Goldman and F. Taylor, 'Coloured Immigrant Children: A Survey of Research Studies and Literature on their Educational Problems and Potential in Britain', *Educational Research* 8 (1966), Black Peoples Progressive Association and Redbridge Community Relations Council, *Cause for Concern: West Indian Pupils in Redbridge* (Ilford, 1978), L. Silberman and B. Spice, *Colour and Class in Six Liverpool Schools* (Liverpool, 1950), D. Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham* (London, 1967), A. Little, C. Mabey and G. Whitaker, 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools', *Race* 9 (1968), pp. 439-452, T. Wrigley, *The Power to Learn: Stories of Success in the Education of Asian and other Bilingual Pupils* (Stoke-on-Trent, 2000) and L. Archer and B. Francis, *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement: Race, Gender, Class and Success* (Abingdon, 2007). For Germany see U. Boos-Nünning, 'Ausländische Jugendliche in Berufsschulen', in M. Hohmann (ed.), *Unterricht mit ausländischen Kindern* (Düsseldorf, 1976), pp. 353-364, J. Gerstenmaier and F. Hamburger, 'Bildungswünsche ausländischer Arbeiterkinder. Ergebnisse einer Befragung von Eltern und Kindern', *Soziale Welt* 3 (1974), pp. 279-293, A. Schrader, *Die zweite Generation: Ausländischer Kinder in der Bundesrepublik* (Darmstadt, 1976), F. Ronneberger, *Zukunftserwartungen der Kinder türkischer Arbeitnehmer. Türkische Kinder in Deutschland* (Nuremberg, 1977), R. Rist, 'Education and Marginality: The Situation of the Guestworkers in Germany', *Interchange on Educational Policy* 12 (December 1981), pp. 243-251, W. Williamson, 'Patterns of Educational Inequality in West Germany', *Comparative Education* 13 (March 1977), pp. 29-41, R. Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany: A Comparative Study of Policies and Programs in Bavaria and Berlin', *School Review* 87 (May 1979), pp. 242-268, E. Jancke, 'Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin', *Neue Unterrichts Praxis* 9 (1976), pp. 324-333, S. Harant, 'Schulprobleme von Gastarbeiterkinder', in H. Reimann (ed.), *Gastarbeiter* (Munich, 1976), G. Stüwe, *Türkische Jugendliche. Eine Untersuchung in Berlin-Kreuzberg* (Bensheim, 1982), C. Wilpert, *Die Zukunft der zweiten Generation. Erwartungen und Verhaltensmöglichkeiten ausländischer Kinder* (Königstein, 1980), R. Alba, J. Handl, W. Müller, 'Ethnic Inequalities in the German School System', in P. Schuck and R. Münz (eds.), *Paths to Inclusion: The Integration of Migrants in the United States and Germany* (Oxford, 1998), I. Gang and K. Zimmermann, 'Is Child Like Parent? Educational Attainment and Ethnic Origin', *The Journal of Human Resources* 35 (2000), pp. 550-569, B. Nauck, 'Bildungsverhalten in Migrantenfamilien', in S. Rothe (ed.), *Kindliche Lebenswelten, Bildung und innerfamiliäre Beziehungen* (Munich, 1994), pp. 105-141 and F. Kalter and N. Granato, 'Demographic Change, Educational Expansion, and Structural Assimilation of Immigrants – The Case of Germany', *European Sociological Review* 18 (2002), pp. 199-216.

enrolled in schools. Terms such as “language proficiency”, “ethnic minority educational aspirations” and “multicultural education” have been increasingly used. Although the significance of this sector may indeed have been historically uncontested by scholars, the results of research addressing the position of immigrant pupils within the education sector have proved contradictory, at least with regards to Britain. Some studies have concluded that immigrant youths have unrealistic educational aspirations, whilst others have argued that their aspirations do not differ from those of their indigenous counterparts.⁵⁴⁴ There has also been debate concerning the expectations that ethnic minority parents have of their children’s British education.⁵⁴⁵ It seems, however, that there has been agreement on the notion that ethnic minority pupils in Britain suffer in the education sector as a result of language needs and overall poor local government responses.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴ See Parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations, *The Problems of Coloured School Leavers* (London, 1969), Townsend and Brittan, *Organization in Multiracial Schools*, Y. Gupta, ‘The Educational and Vocational Aspirations of Asian Immigrant and English School-Leavers – A Comparative Study’, *British Journal of Sociology* 28 (1977), pp. 185-198, K. Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London, 1947), A. Richmond, *Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1942-51* (London, 1954), M. Banton, *The Coloured Quarter* (London, 1955), P. Figueroa, ‘West Indian School Leavers in London: Prospects and Prejudice’, Unpublished paper read at the British Sociological Association Conference, London (26-29 March 1969), R. Bloom and J. Barry, ‘Determinants of Work Attitudes Among Negroes’, *Journal of Applied Psychology* 51 (1965), pp. 291-294, J. Bhatnagar, *A Study of Adjustment of Immigrant Children in a London School*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1969), D. Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and Youth Employment Service in Birmingham* (London, 1966), Archer and Francis, *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement*, F. Ahmad, ‘Modern Traditions? British Muslim Women and Academic Achievement’, *Gender and Education* 13 (2001), pp. 137-152 and S. Ball, D. Reay and M. David, ‘Ethnic Choosing: Minority Ethnic Students, Social Class and Higher Education Choice’, *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 5 (2002), pp. 333-357.

⁵⁴⁵ See Townsend and Brittan, *Organization in Multiracial Schools*, pp. 57-90, L. Morrison, *As They See It. A Race Relations Study of Three Areas From a Black Viewpoint* (London, 1976), N. Sing Noor and S. Khalsa, *Educational Needs of Asian Children in the Context of Multiracial Education in Wolverhampton. A Survey of Parents’ Views and Attitudes* (Wolverhampton, 1977-1978), J. Wilding, *Ethnic Minority Languages in the Classroom? A Survey of Asian Parents’ Views and Attitudes* (Wolverhampton, 1977-1978), D. Joly, *The Opinions of Mirpuri Parents in Saltley, Birmingham, About Their Children’s Schooling* (Warwick, 1986), B. Francis and L. Archer, ‘British-Chinese Pupils’ and Parents’ Constructions of the Value of Education’, *British Educational Research Journal* 31 (2005), pp. 89-107 and G. Crozier and D. Reay, *Activating Participation* (Stoke-on-Trent, 2005).

⁵⁴⁶ See Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children*, A. Halsey, *Educational Priority Vol 1: EPA Problems and Policies* (London, 1972), J. Levine and A. McLeod, ‘Children From Families of Overseas Origins’, in H. Rosen (ed.), *Language and Literacy in Our Schools: Some Appraisals of the Bullock Report* (London, 1975), W. Peace, ‘A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford’, *English for Immigrants* 4 (1971), Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 158-206, C. Bagley, *Social Structure and Prejudice in Five English Boroughs: A Report Prepared for the I.R.R. Survey of Race Relations in Britain* (London, 1970), J. McNeal, ‘Education’, in S. Abbott (ed.), *The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain* (London, 1971), R. Arshad, D. Almeida, E. Kelly, P. O’Hara, S. Sharp and R. Syed, *Minority Ethnic Pupils’ Experiences of School in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2004), D. Gillborn, ‘Education Policy as an Act of White Supremacy: Whiteness Critical Race Theory and Education Reform’, *Journal of Educational Policy* 20 (2005), pp. 485-505.

Regarding Germany, the historical literature is more conclusive. On the whole, studies have asserted that immigrant children are disadvantaged within the school system compared to German children. This is most clearly portrayed in their concentration in the least prestigious schools, in the lack of apprenticeships available to them and in the number of immigrant students who leave school without a diploma.⁵⁴⁷ Furthermore, there is little doubt that Turkish youths have historically been more disadvantaged than other immigrant groups, either due to discrimination suffered or as a result of the fact that many have termed themselves "sojourners" or temporary residents. Consequently, these Turkish youths, caught between two cultures, have often been withdrawn from school at an early age so that they can work, contribute to the family income and prepare for the return to Turkey.⁵⁴⁸

Perhaps this belief, held by a proportion of the immigrant community and German politicians alike, that many immigrants would eventually return home, marks the fundamental difference between the policies implemented in Britain and Germany. During the 1960s, however, the approaches adopted by both governments were very similar in the fact that there were none. In Britain, there was no clear-sighted policy at a national level at all during this decade. Despite the fact that many schools had experienced a large influx of immigrant pupils already from the late 1950s onwards, the reaction at a local level was scarcely better.⁵⁴⁹ As Male points out, the 1963 Robbins

⁵⁴⁷ See Alba, Handl and Müller, 'Ethnic Inequalities in the German School System', T. Faist, 'Ein- und Ausgliederung von Immigranten: Türken in Deutschland und mexikanische Amerikaner in den USA in den achtziger Jahren', *Soziale Welt* 44 (1993), pp. 275-299, Faist, 'From School to Work', Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, 'Nach wie vor Rückstände in der Schul- und Berufsausbildung junger Ausländer', *Wochenbericht* (14 July 1994), pp. 486-492, Zentrum für Türkeistudien, *Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Ein Handbuch* (Opladen, 1994) and H. Herrmann, 'Ausländische Jugendliche in Ausbildung und Beruf', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* (1995), pp. 23-29.

⁵⁴⁸ See P. Geiersbach, *Bruder, Musszusammen Zwiebel und Wasser Essen: Eine türkische Familie in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1982), E. Korte, 'Die Rückkehrorientierung im Eingliederungsprozess der Migrantenfamilien', in H. Esser and J. Friedrichs (eds.), *Generation und Identität: Theoretische und empirische Beiträge zur Migrationssoziologie* (Opladen, 1990), W. Schiffauer, *Die Migranten aus Subay: Türken in Deutschland: Eine Ethnographie* (Stuttgart, 1991), W. Seifert, 'Zunehmende Arbeitsmarktintegration bei anhaltender sozialer Segregation', *Informationsdienst Soziale Indikatoren* 15 (1996), pp. 7-11 and M. Alamdar-Niemanns, D. Bergs-Winkels and H. Merkens, 'Educational Conditions of Turkish Migrant Children in German Schools', *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 22 (1991), pp. 154-161.

⁵⁴⁹ See Black Peoples Progressive Association and Redbridge Community Relations Council, *Cause for Concern*, G. Male, 'Multicultural Education and Education Policy: The British Experience', *Comparative Education Review* 24 (October 1980), p. 291 and H. Miller, 'Race Relations and the Schools in Great Britain', *Phylon* 27 (1966), p. 251.

report on higher education did not even mention immigrants, the 1963 Newsom Report⁵⁵⁰ dedicated merely just over one page to the educational obstacles faced by black youths, and the 1967 Plowden Report⁵⁵¹ did only slightly better with six pages on the children of immigrants.⁵⁵² Despite this reluctance by the government to effectively address the education of immigrant pupils, much literature stressing the importance of education in the building of a multicultural society emerged during the late 1960s to mid-1970s.⁵⁵³

Similarly, in the Federal Republic, during the 1960s, the federal government did little more than extend compulsory education to cover immigrant youths. This non-involvement was, in many ways, excused by the fact that education policy was state-controlled.⁵⁵⁴ Furthermore, the need for an education policy directed at immigrant children was often deemed unnecessary. This was because their long-term integration into German society was not considered a possibility as it was believed that they would soon be returning home.⁵⁵⁵ Unlike in Britain, the vast majority of Muslim immigrants arrived in West Germany as guest-workers, as single men who had often left wives and children behind in Turkey. It is perhaps then not surprising that it was not initially recognised that the educational needs of immigrant children would have to be catered for.

In Britain, however, the 1965 dispersal policy was a departure from the inactivity that dominated that decade. This policy dictated that ethnic minority children should be divided amongst different schools, rather than being concentrated in only a handful. It stated that no one school or classroom should be more than 33% immigrant.⁵⁵⁶ This measure was the first in what was the British government's assimilationist approach

⁵⁵⁰ The aim of the 1963 Newsom Report was to make suggestions that would improve the education of those children aged between 13 and 16 who were of average or less than average ability and who were in full-time education.

⁵⁵¹ The aim of the 1967 Plowden Report was to examine primary education and the transition from primary to secondary schools.

⁵⁵² Male, 'Multicultural Education and Education Policy', p. 292. See also *Higher Education* (London, HMSO, 1963), Central Advisory Council for Education, *Half Our Future* (London, HMSO, 1963) and *Children and Their Primary Schools* (London, HMSO, 1967).

⁵⁵³ See Burgin and Edson, *Spring Grove*, S. Patterson, *Immigration and Race* (London, 1969) and E. Rose, *Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations* (New York, 1969).

⁵⁵⁴ See Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 188-190 and C. Wilpert, 'Children of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany', *International Migration Review* 11 (1977), pp. 476-477.

⁵⁵⁵ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany', p. 358, Council of Europe, *Ad Hoc Conference on the Education of Migrants* (Strasbourg, 1974) and Hill, 'Democratic Education in West Germany'.

⁵⁵⁶ See Taylor, *Race, School and Community*, pp. 56-57, Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', p. 1 and Male, 'Multicultural Education and Education Policy', p. 293.

towards the education of immigrant children during the 1960s and 1970s, which consisted of promoting assimilation into British society by means of a strong emphasis on the English language. This course of action primarily involved the teaching of English to all immigrant pupils and the assurance that ethnic minority children were not dominating any single classroom or school.⁵⁵⁷ During the 1970s, however, it became apparent that many local authorities were not adhering to the dispersal policy and that the principles behind this assimilationist approach were not benefiting immigrant pupils.⁵⁵⁸

Consequently, the late 1970s and 1980s witnessed a shift in Britain from an assimilationist approach to a multicultural one. This multicultural approach to education consisted of encouraging immigrant children to learn and speak their mother tongues, as well as recognising their indigenous cultures and identities. This transition was documented in the 1985 Swann Report in which it was stated that more measures needed to be taken to combat racism in schools, that the educational needs of each pupil had to be met depending on his ethnic, linguistic and cultural background, and that all pupils needed to be prepared for a future in a multicultural Britain.⁵⁵⁹ The report was initially denounced by many scholars as having shortcomings, such as a lack of emphasis on the importance of racism and not enough financial support.⁵⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the impact that this legislation had on local authorities across Britain cannot be denied. Already during the early 1980s, after the Swann Committee had been established, but before the report's publication, Local Education Authorities (LEAs) began implementing multicultural education policies. Schools in Birmingham, Leicester and Bradford, for example, hired

⁵⁵⁷ See D. Carlton, 'Understanding Multicultural/Anti-Racist Education for Practice', in T. Chivers (ed.), *Race and Culture in Education* (Berkshire, 1987) and Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', p. 1.

⁵⁵⁸ See Male, 'Multicultural Education and Education Policy', p. 293, Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', p. 2, M. Grubb, 'Ealing: Goodbye to Busing?', *Race Today* 4 (1972), pp. 206-208, J. Nixon, 'Multi-ethnic Education in Inner London', *New Community* 9 (1981-1982), pp. 381-398 and J. Nagra, 'Asian Supplementary Schools: A Case Study of Coventry', *New Community* 9 (1981-1982), pp. 431-436.

⁵⁵⁹ See Archer and Francis, *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement*, pp. 16-17, Mullard, 'Multiracial Education in Britain', A. Rattansi, 'Changing the Subject: Racism, Culture and Education', in J. Donald and A. Rattansi (eds.), *"Race", Culture and Difference* (Buckingham, 1992), G. Verma, *Education for All: A Landmark in Pluralism* (Philadelphia, 1989) and B. Shaw, 'The Incoherence of Multicultural Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 36 (1988), pp. 250-259.

⁵⁶⁰ See B. Troyna, '"Swann's Song": The Origins, Ideology and Implications of "Education For All"', in T. Chivers (ed.), *Race and Culture in Education* (Berkshire, 1987) and A. Gurnah, 'Gatekeepers and Caretakers: Swann, Scarman and the Social Policy of Containment', in B. Troyna (ed.), *Racial Equality in Education* (London, 1987).

more teachers from an ethnic minority background, assisted immigrant pupils with the improvement of their native language skills and communicated with immigrant parents in their mother tongues.⁵⁶¹

Whilst Britain exchanged an assimilationist education policy for a multicultural one, federal states across Germany adopted a plethora of assimilationist and multicultural policies. In other words, schools were instructed to prepare guest-worker children for both a future in Germany and a return to the homeland. It was proposed that these children become acquainted with the German language and culture as well as those of their native countries.⁵⁶² On the whole, however, each federal state tended to choose whether its schools were to focus primarily on the integration of immigrant children or on the preparation for their return home.⁵⁶³ Many scholars have insisted that this scheme did nothing more than cause the illiteracy of these children in both languages.⁵⁶⁴ According to Rist, the consequence of this policy was that immigrant children received a 'double message' from the German school system.⁵⁶⁵

Whilst Germany's education policies towards immigrants have undoubtedly portrayed the widespread uncertainty concerning the country's position as a nation of immigrants, those of Britain have increasingly represented a nation that attempts to define itself as multicultural.⁵⁶⁶ Despite the fact that each country's approach has differed

⁵⁶¹ For Birmingham see Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain'. For Leicester see 'Rushey Mead School, Leicester', in Wrigley, *The Power to Learn*, pp. 47-60. For Bradford see 'Whetley Primary School, Bradford', in Wrigley, *The Power to Learn*, pp. 111-120.

⁵⁶² See Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 193-196, Conference of Ministers of Culture and Education of the Federal Republic of Germany, *Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer* (Bonn, 1976) and Conference of Ministers of Culture and Education of the Federal Republic of Germany, *Neufassung der Empfehlung "Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer"* (Bonn, 1976).

⁵⁶³ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', Jancke, 'Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin', Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Die Brücker zur Heimat nicht abbrechen – das "offene Modell" Bayerns', *Schul Report 2* (1974), pp. 20-21, B. Ferber and H. Müller, 'Probleme einer gemeinsamen Erziehung deutscher und ausländischer Vorschulkinder – Ergebnisse an – Interpretation einer Befragung in Kreuzberger Kindertagesstätten', *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Katholischen Studenten- und Hochschulgemeinden* (1977) and German Tribune, *Foreign Children in Frankfurt too Long in Separate Classes* (January 1977).

⁵⁶⁴ See D. Freiberg and M. Hohmann, 'Die schulische Situation ausländischer Kinder: Schulpflicht und Schulrecht', in M. Hohmann (ed.), *Unterricht mit ausländischen Kinder* (Düsseldorf, 1976), pp. 11-25, S. Harant, 'Schulprobleme von Gastarbeiterkindern', in H. Reimann (ed.), *Gastarbeiter* (Munich, 1976), p. 164 and Deutscher Caritasverband, *Die verlorene Generation?* (Freiburg, 1975).

⁵⁶⁵ Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', p. 362.

⁵⁶⁶ For Germany see Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 57, H. Kürthen and M. Minkenberg, 'Germany in Transition: Immigration, Racism and the Extreme Right', *Nations and Nationalism* 1 (1995), p. 176 and P. Katzenstein, *Policy and Politics in West Germany* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 218. For Britain see T. Modood,

as a result of its immigration history, there is little doubt that each nation's respective debate concerning the education of immigrant children is still ongoing. The same controversy that was witnessed during the 1970s with the emergence of Coard's seminal work on West Indian children in the British school system⁵⁶⁷ and during the 1980s with the Honeyford Affair and the Burnage High School incident⁵⁶⁸ is today seen in the optional banning of Muslim face veils in educational establishments. Similarly, the ever-present discrimination and lack of opportunities suffered by Turks in Germany's education system, as reported by scholars such as Rist and Hill during the 1970s and 1980s, has more recently been linked with political attitudes and behaviour, and growing ethnic and class divisions.⁵⁶⁹ Furthermore, this problem was reinforced by the OECD's PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) study of 2003, which concluded that schools in Germany trail significantly behind in immigrant education compared to those of other European countries.⁵⁷⁰

These shortcomings exist despite the well established importance of the education sector in the overall integration of immigrant youths.⁵⁷¹ The importance of this sector is a result of the fact that it is in schools that immigrant and indigenous pupils come together under one roof. Muslim immigrants in both Newcastle and Bremen may, when possible, prefer to work amongst themselves in small businesses and live segregated from the

Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain (Edinburgh, 2005), Y. Alibhai-Brown, *After Multiculturalism* (London, 2000) and B. Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (Basingstoke, 2000).

⁵⁶⁷ Coard, *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-normal*.

⁵⁶⁸ The 1985 Honeyford Affair took place in Bradford and consisted of a headmaster publishing various articles that challenged the concept of multicultural education. In the 1988 Burnage High School incident, a thirteen year-old Bangladeshi boy was murdered as a result of a racist attack.

⁵⁶⁹ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', Hill, 'Democratic Education in West Germany' and P. Doerschler, 'Education and the Development of Turkish and Yugoslav Immigrants' Political Attitudes in Germany', *German Politics* 13 (2004), pp. 449-480.

⁵⁷⁰ See PISA-Konsortium Deutschland, *PISA 2003. Der Bildungsstand der Jugendlichen in Deutschland – Ergebnisse des zweiten internationalen Vergleichs* (Berlin, 2004) and PISA-Konsortium Deutschland, *PISA 2003 – Der zweite Vergleich der Länder in Deutschland. Was wissen und können Jugendliche?* (Berlin, 2005).

⁵⁷¹ For Britain see P. Woods and E. Grugeon, 'Pupils and "Race": Integration and Disintegration in Primary Schools', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 11 (1990), pp. 309-326, N. Rassool, 'Flexible Identities: Exploring Race and Gender Issues Among a Group of Immigrant Pupils in an Inner-City Comprehensive School', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20 (1999), pp. 23-36 and M. Stone, *The Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multiracial Education* (London, 1981). For Germany see Gang and Zimmermann, 'Is Child Like Parent?', Wilpert, 'Children of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany' and W. Mitter, 'Education in the Federal Republic of Germany: The Next Decade', *Comparative Education* 16 (October 1980), pp. 257-265.

indigenous population in districts “conquered” by their communities, but yet their children still, more often than not, sit in the same classrooms as those of the indigenous population and are taught the same lessons by the same teachers, in the same language.

The extent to which the education sector impacts upon the immigrant communities’ overall level of integration is portrayed in the fact that, in both Britain and Germany, in no other sector did national and local legislation emerge at such an early stage and have such an effect. In relation to the employment and housing sectors in Newcastle, for example, it was not until the early to mid-1980s that the local government ascertained the employment and housing patterns of the Muslim immigrant community.⁵⁷² In relation to Bremen, the first document addressing the position of Muslim immigrants on the local labour market had emerged during the early 1970s, but not until the early 1980s concerning housing.⁵⁷³ Not even in the employment sector, however, where measures addressing the situation of immigrants emerged during the early 1970s, did national legislation have such an effect on local policies.

The importance of the education sector in the overall integration of immigrant communities is also illustrated by the number of works that address the specific cases of Newcastle and Bremen. The most renowned study on the educational performance of Muslim pupils in Newcastle was that of Taylor conducted during the 1960s that established that Asians often perform better educationally than members of the indigenous population.⁵⁷⁴ In a recent study, an Ghail and Haywood argue that there are numerous factors that impact the schooling of Bangladeshis, including the need to adjust to new schools, overcrowding at home and poverty.⁵⁷⁵ Furthermore, Whiteman recently conducted a survey of Newcastle’s schools and concluded that the integration of refugee pupils depended largely on the ethnic make-up of the individual schools.⁵⁷⁶ Therefore, both works imply the ineffectiveness of overarching city-wide policies and measures.

⁵⁷² See Ethnic Minority Groups & Business Development, 4 March 1985, MD.NC/162/2 and The Council and Racial Equality: Policy Statement and Action Plan, November 1984, MD.NC/162/1.

⁵⁷³ See Fortschreibung, Ausländische Arbeitnehmer, 12.09.1973 and Wie wohnen Ausländer in Bremen?, February 1981, 81.b.17.

⁵⁷⁴ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*.

⁵⁷⁵ M. an Ghail and C. Haywood, *Young Bangladeshi People’s Experience of Transition to Adulthood* (York, 2005).

⁵⁷⁶ R. Whiteman, ‘Welcoming the Stranger: A Qualitative Analysis of Teachers’ Views Regarding the Integration of Refugee Pupils into Schools in Newcastle-upon-Tyne’, *Educational Studies* 31 (2005), pp. 375–391.

Regarding Bremen, Brix-Sievers argues that its approach to the education of immigrant youth has been quite particular and Hill stresses the importance the city has historically given to the role of the teacher.⁵⁷⁷

It is with these studies and Britain and Germany's histories of immigration in mind that the following analysis of the educational performance of Newcastle and Bremen's Muslim immigrants is provided. The aim is to establish whether Newcastle and Bremen, two cities with strong regional identities, adhere to or divert from the pattern established by the British and German historiography for the countries as a whole.⁵⁷⁸ It is necessary to assess whether Newcastle's adaptation of national policies and Bremen's federal independence upon implementing education policies has affected the overall integration of Muslim immigrant schoolchildren into these two local education sectors. This chapter will reveal the manner in which Newcastle's local authority shifted from an assimilationist approach during the 1960s and 1970s to a multicultural one in the 1980s. Simultaneously, Bremen initially attempted to prepare the city's immigrants for both a return to the homeland and a stay in Germany during the 1970s and, from the 1980s onwards, focused solely on their integration into the local society. This chapter will, therefore, chart the progress of both assimilation and integration into two differing host societies and will study the education sector not in isolation, but with constant reference to the sectors of employment and housing previously discussed.

The Education of Muslim Immigrant Children and Youths in Newcastle: "The Three Rs" of the 1960s: Reading, Race & Realisation.

Before commencing an analysis of Newcastle's education sector, it is essential to note how the available archival documents differ from those used in the two previous chapters on employment and housing. Central to these two sectors was the impact of the Race Relations Act 1976 upon Newcastle City Council. As a result of this act, the council initiated numerous measures and policies during the late 1970s and early 1980s. This

⁵⁷⁷ See H. Brix-Sievers, 'Schulische Integration von Ausländerkindern in Bremen', *Ausländerkinder* 9 (1982), pp. 36-43 and Hill, 'Democratic Education in West Germany'.

⁵⁷⁸ For Newcastle see Todd, 'Black-on-Tyne' and Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?'. For Bremen see Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen', p. 5, Buse, 'Urban and National Identity'.

same pattern, however, was not witnessed within the education sector. Archival documents addressing the education of Muslim immigrants in Newcastle date from as early as 1967, rather than from the 1980s as was witnessed in relation to employment and housing. In other words, Newcastle City Council deemed it necessary to investigate the performance of Muslim immigrants before a national overarching policy was implemented.

This was doubtlessly a result of the fact that, whilst the city's Muslim immigrants were left to coexist alongside the indigenous population in the employment sector by opening small businesses and in the housing sector by "claiming" a number of districts in the West End, a certain integration was forced within the education sector due to the fact that children of all backgrounds attended the same schools. Muslim pupils have always been a minority within Newcastle's educational institutions and they have had to adapt in this sector in a way their families have not been forced to in others. There have been, naturally, certain schools in Newcastle that have historically been attended by a higher number of Muslim immigrant pupils than others, but the student bodies of these schools have never been predominantly immigrant. This decision to intervene in the performance of immigrant children in the education sector was in no way particular to Newcastle and took place within local authorities across Britain.⁵⁷⁹

The aim of this section is to establish whether this pre-emptive strike by Newcastle's local government had a positive effect on the city's Muslim immigrant population or whether, as has been proven to be the case in the employment and housing sectors, the immigrants have survived in spite of the policies, not as a result of them. The first available archival document addressing the education of Newcastle's Muslim immigrants emerged in December 1967, almost exactly ten years before such a document surfaced in Bremen.⁵⁸⁰ It is a report compiled by the city's Education Committee that details the total number of immigrant pupils and any concerns raised. Records on the number of immigrant pupils had been kept since January 1964 and, by December 1967,

⁵⁷⁹ See H. Miller, 'Race Relations and the Schools in Great Britain', *Phylon* 27 (1966), pp. 247-267 and P. Jordan, 'The Integration of Coloured Commonwealth Immigrants Within the British Educational System: The Size and Nature of the Problem with Particular Reference to Certain Parts of England and to the Teaching of English', *Institute of Education Bulletin* (University of Nottingham, 1963).

⁵⁸⁰ Commonwealth Immigrants Working Group of Planning Committee 19 September 1966-6 May 1968, Education Committee, Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

the Education Committee was concerned about the possibility that the increase in their figure could pose some problems for certain schools. Between January 1964 and November 1967, the total number of immigrant pupils in Newcastle's schools increased from 348 to 585.⁵⁸¹

These 585 pupils constituted 1.6% of Newcastle's entire student body, a figure much lower than the national average for England and Wales which, in January 1966, stood at 1.8% and, by the end of 1967, had risen to 3%.⁵⁸² Although this figure was small compared to cities like London, Bradford and Birmingham which all had wards and schools that were between 20% and 50% immigrant, it was nevertheless a sudden steep increase in the number of immigrant pupils for a city with an ethnic minority population the size of Newcastle's.⁵⁸³ Furthermore, this increase had a further impact as Muslim immigrant pupils in Newcastle, as in Bremen, became concentrated in a handful of schools instead of being spread out evenly across the city. The 1967 report stated that this sudden increase during the mid-1960s was due to a significant number of children arriving to Newcastle from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to join either their parents or other family members already settled there.⁵⁸⁴

It was this concentration of immigrant pupils within certain schools that was the Education Committee's first concern. The majority of these schools were in the West End. By November 1967, there were ten primary schools in Newcastle that had ten or more immigrants on roll.⁵⁸⁵ Immigrant pupils were, however, not evenly distributed amongst these schools. Sandyford Road Hill, for example, had only 13 immigrant pupils in November 1967, whilst Westgate Hill Infant and Westgate Hill Junior had 51 and 70 respectively.⁵⁸⁶ It is not surprising that there were so many more immigrants enrolled in the two Westgate schools as they were the primary schools that primarily served the Fenham area where a large proportion of the city's immigrant population settled from the

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., p. 1.

⁵⁸² Ibid., p. 1.

⁵⁸³ See Miller, 'Race Relations and Schools in Great Britain', p. 253, Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham*, p. 2 and Gupta, 'The Educational and Vocational Aspirations of Asian Immigrant and English School-Leavers'.

⁵⁸⁴ Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁵ Elswick Road Junior, Sandyford Road Junior, Todd's Nook Primary, Westgate Hill Junior, Westgate Hill Infant, West Jesmond Junior, West Jesmond Infant, Wingrove Junior, Wingrove Infant and St. Paul's C.E. Primary.

⁵⁸⁶ Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 1.

early 1960s onwards.

As was the case in cities across Britain, the main problem facing these schools with high numbers of immigrant pupils was the low standard of English amongst them, a problem that had been documented from the mid-1960s onwards.⁵⁸⁷ The four Newcastle schools in November 1967 with the highest number of immigrant pupils on their enrolment lists were also the same four schools with the highest number of immigrant pupils who had difficulties with the English language. This theory correlates with the outcome of Taylor's study, which deduced that the smaller the number of immigrant pupils in one school or classroom, the greater chance each would have of learning English and becoming integrated.⁵⁸⁸

According to the 1967 report, Wingrove Junior had twelve immigrant pupils who spoke English at an acceptable standard, but who needed special help with written language, Westgate Hill Junior and Westgate Hill Infant had six and nine immigrant pupils respectively who had some knowledge of English, but who needed special help with both their writing and speaking, and Elswick Road Junior had four immigrant pupils who had no knowledge of the English language whatsoever.⁵⁸⁹ As will be discussed later, this language problem has historically been one of the most common obstacles of integration faced by immigrant children in the German education sector.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ See City of Bradford Educational Services Committee, *English as a Second Language for the Five-Year Old* (Bradford, 1973), J. Creber, *Lost For Words: Language and Educational Failure* (Harmondsworth, 1972), Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford', Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, *The Space Between: English and Foreign Languages at School* (London, 1974), Derrick, *Teaching English to Immigrants*, C. Dodson, E. Price and I. Williams, *Towards Bilingualism* (Cardiff, 1968), A. Gaarder, 'Bilingualism and Education', in B. Spolsky (ed.), *The Language Education of Minority Children* (Rowley, 1972), National Association of Schoolmasters, *Education and the Immigrants* (London, 1968), Schools Council, *English: A Programme for Research and Development in English Teaching* (London, 1965), Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children*, Halsey, *Educational Priority*, Levine and McLeod, 'Children from Families of Overseas Origin', Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 158-206, Bagley, *Social Structure and Prejudice in Five English Boroughs*, McNeal, 'Education', Arshad, Almeida, Kelly, O'Hara, Sharp and Syed, *Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of Schools in Scotland* and Gillborn, 'Education Policy as an Act of White Supremacy'.

⁵⁸⁸ Taylor, *The Half-way Generation*.

⁵⁸⁹ Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁰ See M. Veteto-Conrad, 'Deutsche Sprache, gute Sprache... Minorities in Germany and Their German-Language Literature for Upper-Division German', *Die Unterrichtspraxis* 30 (1997), pp. 59-67, H. Weinrich, *In zwei Sprachen leben* (Munich, 1983), Alamdar-Niemann, Berge-Winkels and Merkens, 'Educational Conditions of Turkish Migrant Children in German Schools', p. 155 and I. Willke, 'Schooling of Immigrant Children in West Germany, Sweden, England: The Educationally Disadvantaged', *International Review of Education* 21 (1975), pp. 361-363.

Due to the perceived difficulties posed by these large quantities of immigrant pupils at this time, Newcastle City Council first considered introducing the “dispersal policy” that had been proposed in a 1965 Ministry of Education and Science manual entitled *The Education of Immigrants*.⁵⁹¹ The Ministry stressed that schools could only effectively incorporate immigrant pupils if their student-bodies were no more than one third immigrant. This policy was the result of the way of thinking behind the concept of an “assimilationist education” which, at the time, was believed to be the answer to maintaining social order within Britain’s classrooms. The reason given for such a policy was that immigrant children would become better acquainted with the English language and culture if they were not in close contact with a large group of other immigrant pupils.⁵⁹² Some argued, however, that this policy was the result of white parents fearing that too many immigrants in one school would lower the educational standards.⁵⁹³ This dispersal policy was also favoured by several states of the Federal Republic and was considered by Bremen during the early 1980s.⁵⁹⁴

Local authorities across Britain introduced the dispersal policy. Under the measure adopted by Ealing’s education authority, Asian pupils were expected, though not legally required, to apply to a central office, which would then assign them to different schools in the area.⁵⁹⁵ During the mid-1960s, Bradford and Southall’s local authorities transported immigrant pupils to schools in neighbouring areas so as to avoid their concentration in others.⁵⁹⁶ Other local authorities, such as Bristol’s, did not have to resort to the dispersal policy as racial mixing was achieved by the fact that most schools were built on the outskirts of the city, away from the centre of the ethnic population.⁵⁹⁷ Although Newcastle did not have any schools towards the end of 1967 that were one-third immigrant, there were two, Westgate Hill Junior and Westgate Hill Infant, which

⁵⁹¹ Ministry of Education and Science, *The Education of Immigrants*, Circular 7/65 (HMSO, June 1965).

⁵⁹² See Male, ‘Multicultural Education and Education Policy’, p. 293.

⁵⁹³ See L. Killian, ‘School Busing in Britain’, *Harvard Educational Review* 49 (1979), p. 190, M. Kogan, ‘Dispersal in the Ealing Local Education Authority System’, Report for the Race Relations Board (London, 1975) and Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*.

⁵⁹⁴ See Rist, ‘On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany’, E. Jancke, ‘Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin’ and E. Beck, ‘Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany’, *Patterns of Prejudice* 33 (1999), pp. 3-12.

⁵⁹⁵ See Male, ‘Multicultural Education and Education Policy’, p. 293.

⁵⁹⁶ See Miller, ‘Race Relations and Schools in Great Britain’, p. 253 and D. Kirp, ‘The Vagaries of Discrimination: Busing, Policy, and Law in Britain’, *The School Review* 87 (1979), p. 272.

⁵⁹⁷ See Kirp, ‘The Vagaries of Discrimination’, p. 276.

were 19.8% and 20% immigrant respectively.⁵⁹⁸

Despite this concentration of immigrant pupils, however, Newcastle's Education Committee reported that the city's head teachers had decided to address the difficulties posed by high numbers of immigrant pupils within their own schools, rather than dispersing them to others. This same decision was taken circa ten years later by Bremen's local authority. Two of the four schools, Elswick Road Junior and Westgate Hill Junior, appointed part-time teachers who were to assist with language skills and the immigrants' overall integration. It appears as though this step was merely taken as a precaution, as these schools continued admitting immigrant pupils without restriction. Newcastle's Education Committee did not believe that an increased number of immigrant pupils would disadvantage the learning environment for pupils of either the indigenous or the immigrant community.⁵⁹⁹ Nottingham's local authority introduced a similar measure in which immigrant children were offered individual assistance and tutoring when necessary. Schools in Walsall went a step further and took pupils out of regular classes once a day for special English language instruction.⁶⁰⁰

It is not surprising that Newcastle City Council did not introduce the dispersal policy during the 1960s. Firstly, compared to cities like London and Bradford, Newcastle had a very small immigrant community that was seen as more manageable. Consequently, as proved to be the case in both the employment and housing sectors, the Muslim immigrant community often benefited from its small size. Secondly, although there were indeed some immigrant pupils who had little knowledge of the English language, the majority of them were deemed capable of following their classes and completing their work without too many problems. Furthermore, the Education Committee was undoubtedly reassured by the fact that these pupils were still of primary school age and, therefore, still young enough to pick up the language quickly. They had plenty of time to do so before secondary school and formal academic assessment. When compared to the situation in Birmingham during the late 1960s, for example, that of

⁵⁹⁸ Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁶⁰⁰ See Miller, 'Race Relations and Schools in Great Britain', p. 256.

Newcastle was benign.⁶⁰¹

It is not surprising then that the situation in one particular secondary school caused much concern. On the whole, there were far fewer immigrant pupils in Newcastle's secondary schools in November 1967 than there were in the city's primary schools. This was due to the fact that a large proportion of the immigrant community had arrived in Newcastle during the late 1950s to early 1960s and, by 1967, not many immigrant children had reached secondary school age.⁶⁰² Hence, in November 1967, there were only five secondary schools in Newcastle that had ten or more immigrants on roll. These were Benfield School, Benwell, Heaton Manor School, Rutherford Comprehensive and Slatyford Comprehensive School, which were 0.6%, 2.1%, 1.2%, 2.3% and 10% immigrant respectively.⁶⁰³ Slatyford Comprehensive School had a much higher number of immigrant pupils than the city's other secondary schools because it served the Rye Hill and Elswick areas where a large proportion of the Muslim immigrant population had settled.

The Education Committee concluded that Slatyford Comprehensive School was the only secondary school in Newcastle to have a language problem. Out of the 124 immigrant pupils who attended this school in November 1967, 34 spoke English to an acceptable standard, but needed special help with the written language; 21 had some knowledge of English, but required assistance with both the spoken and written language, and 18 had no knowledge of the English language whatsoever.⁶⁰⁴ Unlike immigrant pupils arriving at primary school age with little knowledge of the English language, those arriving at Slatyford Comprehensive School were doing so at the age of fourteen with only a few years of school life remaining. Numerous works have certified that poor English-language skills amongst immigrant school-leavers were a problem found across

⁶⁰¹ See Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham*, pp. 10-11 and R. Chapman, 'Non English-Speaking Children in Birmingham Schools', *Institute of Race Relations Newsletter* (February 1966).

⁶⁰² See Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham*, D. Chapman, *Colour and Class in Six Liverpool Schools* (Liverpool, 1950) and A. Little, 'Performance of Children From Ethnic Minority Backgrounds in Primary Schools', *Oxford Review of Education* 1 (1975), pp. 117-135.

⁶⁰³ *Immigrant Pupils in Schools*, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 3.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Britain during the late 1960s to mid-1970s.⁶⁰⁵ A 1971 study of young immigrants between the ages of 16 and 24 in Southall, Birmingham and Bradford concluded that, when asked how well they spoke English, 37% of Pakistanis replied 'not very well'.⁶⁰⁶

David Renton, a leading authority on racial politics in twentieth-century Britain, also makes reference to Slatyford Comprehensive School in *Migration to the North East; An Unfinished Story*.⁶⁰⁷ He describes how a journalist, when reporting about a racial incident at the school, observed 'like the bus crews at the Corporation dept where British, Indian, Sikh, Pakistani and Jamaican employees take their tea breaks in five separate groups, most of the children at Slatyford prefer to make friends among their own nationality.'⁶⁰⁸ There is little doubt that Slatyford's large number of immigrant pupils caused the formation of ethnically diverse social groups which, in turn, hindered the chances of some immigrant pupils learning English and improving either their academic performances or their chances of integration. This characteristic was in no way particular to either this school or to Newcastle as the existence of friendship groups in schools throughout Britain depending on ethnic background had been documented already during the 1960s.⁶⁰⁹

Regarding the case of Slatyford Comprehensive School, the Education Committee suggested that those immigrant pupils with language problems be sent to a reception centre where they would undergo intensive English language tuition until they were deemed ready to rejoin their respective classes. This was a scheme that was implemented by local authorities throughout Britain during the 1960s, including those of Inner London,

⁶⁰⁵ See Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham*, E. Butterworth, *A Muslim Community in Britain* (London, 1967), Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children* and Schools Council Project in English for Immigrant Children, *Scope Handbook 2: Pronunciation* (London, 1972).

⁶⁰⁶ See P. Evans, *Attitudes of Young Immigrants* (London, 1971), p. 10.

⁶⁰⁷ <http://www.dkrenton.co.uk/research/nehostility.htm> (Consulted in September 2007).

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ See Evans, *Attitudes of Young Immigrants*, Taylor, *Race, School and Community*, M. Durojaiye, 'Ethnic Choices in Friendship in Junior School', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (February 1969), M. Durojaive, 'Race Relations Among Junior School Children', *Educational Research* 11 (1969), C. Saint, *Scholastic and Sociological Adjustment of the Punjabi Speaking Children in Smethwick*, Unpublished MEd dissertation, University of Birmingham (1963), T. Kawwa, *A Study of the Interaction Between Native and Immigrant Children in English Schools with Special Reference to Ethnic Prejudice*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London Institute of Education (1965), K. Rowley, 'Social Relations Between British and Immigrant Children', *Educational Research* 10 (1967), T. Robertson and T. Kawwa, 'Ethnic Relations in a Girls' Comprehensive School', *Educational Research* 13 (1971) and D. Milner, 'Attitudes', *Race Today* (November 1971).

Huddersfield and Birmingham.⁶¹⁰ Newcastle's Commonwealth Working Group, however, immediately disregarded the idea, stating that it was preferable that the problems be addressed within the standard classroom, a decision that was not reached by Bremen's local authority until 1980.⁶¹¹ Although no specific reason is given for why the Commonwealth Working Group was so adamant in opposing the introduction of reception centres, a few suggestions can be made. Firstly, the group may have believed that the school had sufficient resources to address the problem. In November 1967, Slatyford Comprehensive School had one full-time and one part-time teacher above the quota, both of whom had been specifically appointed to assist immigrant pupils with the English language. These two teachers had established a special unit within the school in which 33 of the 39 immigrant pupils in need of the most help were already enrolled in special English classes.⁶¹²

Another possible reason could have been the fact that, as was the case in Germany, reception centres were often perceived as hindering integration, rather than promoting it.⁶¹³ During the 1960s, some secondary schools in London introduced reception classes where immigrant pupils received special instruction in the English language. Even though these classes were hosted within the same school building, they were nevertheless a matter of concern. According to Miller, 'some immigrant groups...have regarded the reception class as a form of segregation. Schools have found it difficult to classify immigrant children and have occasionally placed them initially in a class for retarded children.'⁶¹⁴ If such a level of segregation could be caused by reception classes, it is no wonder that the Commonwealth Working Group was reluctant to introduce reception centres, which would consist of immigrant pupils leaving their

⁶¹⁰ See Taylor, *Race, School and Community*, pp. 51-57, R. Lee, 'The Education of Immigrant Children in England', *Race* 7 (1965), Burgin and Pickup, *Spring Grove*, Rose, *Colour and Citizenship*, D. Wigg, 'Wolverhampton: As Tolerant as Anywhere Else?', *Times Educational Supplement* (October 1970), J. Tempest-Woods, 'Report from the Language Department', *English for Immigrants* 3 (1970) and Miller, *Race Relations and Schools in Great Britain*, pp. 255-256.

⁶¹¹ Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 3.

⁶¹² Ibid., p. 4.

⁶¹³ See Hawkes, *Immigrant Children in British Schools*, Schools Council Working Paper 13, *English for the Children of Immigrants* (London, 1967), Bowker, *The Education of Coloured Immigrant Children* and H. E. Townsend, *Immigrant Pupils in England: The LEA Response* (Slough, 1971).

⁶¹⁴ Miller, 'Race Relations and Schools in Great Britain', p. 255. See also Coard, *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal*, Goldman and Taylor, 'Coloured Immigrant Children', L. Hudson, 'IQ: The Effect of Heredity and Environment', *The Times Saturday Review* (7 November 1970) and C. Bagley, 'The Educational Performance of Immigrant Children', *Race & Class* 10 (1968).

respective school buildings until their English language was deemed to have reached a high enough level for them to be allowed to return.

There are, unfortunately, no further archival documents that address the council's approach to the performance of immigrant pupils in Newcastle's schools in the 1960s. Furthermore, there are no documents available for the entirety of the 1970s, the possible reasons for which are detailed in the next section. The early to mid-1980s, however, witness a sharp change in direction on behalf of Newcastle's local government as a result of overarching national policies, a factor that has never historically played a role in Bremen due to its semi-autonomous position with regards to culture and education within federal Germany. The desire of the late 1960s to not introduce reception classes so that all pupils were seen to be treated equally in adherence with the assimilationist stance of the time was soon combined with a multiculturalist concept in the 1980s. This viewpoint encouraged Newcastle City Council into concentrating specifically on immigrant pupils in the education sector by introducing mother-tongue teaching and attempting to increase the number of the City's ethnic minority teachers. The issue that will be analysed in the following section is whether or not this newfound focus on behalf of Newcastle's local government did indeed assist immigrant pupils at a grassroots level or whether the council was simply conforming to a national agenda.

The Education of Muslim Immigrant Children and Youths in Newcastle: "The Other Brick in the Wall?"

Despite the fact that Newcastle City Council showed such concern about the performance of immigrant pupils within the city's education sector during the late 1960s, the next available archival document addressing this topic did not emerge until the mid-1980s. Although a specific reason is not given for this dormant period, there are numerous factors that could have contributed to it. Firstly, as was discussed in the previous section, the Commonwealth Working Group and the Head Teachers of Newcastle's primary and secondary schools with the most immigrant pupils in November 1967 insisted that they preferred to tackle any language and integration problems within their own respective schools. Once this decision had been made and suggestions such as

the introduction of reception centres had been dismissed, it is logical to assume that the council decided to let the schools tackle any language problems themselves.

There are two possibilities why Newcastle City Council decided to re-intervene fifteen years later. Firstly, there is no doubt that national policies played an important role, especially the Swann Report, also known as Education for All.⁶¹⁵ The final report was published in March 1985, but had been initiated by a committee that had been established already in 1979. The committee's first report, the Rampton Report, published in 1981, established the needs of West Indian schoolchildren within Britain's education system.⁶¹⁶ The Swann Report was the first government initiative to thoroughly reject the concept of assimilation that had been so dominant during the 1960s and 1970s. Such a watershed has never occurred in Germany, as individual states direct their own education policies.⁶¹⁷

The Swann Report has been seen by many as a breakthrough in educating Britain's ethnic minority youth. Its main conclusions were that immigrant pupils should be educated in a multicultural environment, should be "mainstreamed" and no longer isolated from their indigenous counterparts and that, whilst the learning of mother-tongue languages should be encouraged, it should not be up to the schools, but to the ethnic communities, to provide such classes.⁶¹⁸ As a result, the 1985 report issued by the City of

⁶¹⁵ See Swann Committee: Correspondence: Publication of the Report. Within British Universities and Polytechnics Overseas Development, Swann Report, January 1977, BW 90/21 41, The National Archives at Kew, Implementation of the Swann Report: Consideration of Recommendations, 01/01/1969-31/12/1969, MH 148/507, The National Archives at Kew, Implementation of the Swann Report: Consideration of Recommendations, 01/01/1970-31/12/1970, MH 148/508, The National Archives at Kew and Implementation of the Swann Report: Consideration of Recommendations, 01/01/1970-31/12/1970, MH 148/509, The National Archives at Kew.

⁶¹⁶ See Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 September 1985–15 July 1987, City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Education Committee, Schools Sub-Committee and Racial Equality Sub-Committee, The Swann Report, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁶¹⁷ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-Worker Children in Germany', p. 357, N. Abadan-Unat, 'Educational Problems of Turkish Migrants' Children', *International Review of Education* 21 (1975), p. 314 and S. Bilmen, *Education of Migrant Workers' Children* (Strasbourg, 1971).

⁶¹⁸ See Department of Education and Science, *Education For All: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children From Ethnic Minority Groups (The Swann Report)* (London, 1985), G. Verma, *Education for All: A Landmark in Pluralism* (Philadelphia, 1989), National Council for Mother Tongue Teaching, 'The Swann Report: Education For All?', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 6 (1985), pp. 497-508, G. Haydon, *Education For a Pluralist Society: Philosophical Perspectives on the Swann Report* (London, 1987), National Union of Teachers, *Education For Equality: The National Union of Teachers' Response to the Swann Report* (London, 1986) and Committee of Inquiry

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Education Committee, Schools Sub-Committee and Racial Equality Sub-Committee, rejected 'the idea that ethnic communities should be absorbed into the culture of the indigenous society...it also rejects the concept of separatism, the idea that these communities should be encouraged to develop in isolation. Rather, the report advocates a pluralist view of society, embracing a variety of races, cultures and faiths.'⁶¹⁹ The September 1985 report issued by the three committees pertaining to Newcastle City Council stressed that they fully supported this multicultural view.

The impact that the Swann Report had on Newcastle's local authority can be measured by the fact that, within six months of its publication, all of the city's schools were asked to review their curricular, organisational and administrative policies to ensure that they were free of any institutional racism. Furthermore, all education authorities (LEAs) were encouraged to establish a clear multicultural education policy.⁶²⁰ The notion that the Swann Report had such an impact on Newcastle's local authority is further enhanced by the fact that other local governments across Britain also reacted as a result of this policy.⁶²¹ The manner in which Newcastle reacted to this national legislation compared to the scenarios in other British cities will be examined in this section and comparisons with other cities will be drawn.

Furthermore, as proved to be the case during the late 1960s in Newcastle and during the late 1970s in Bremen, it is probable that the sudden attention paid to the education of immigrant pupils during the 1980s was the result of an increase in their numbers. In November 1967, there were a total of 585 immigrant pupils in Newcastle's schools.⁶²² The first in-depth report addressing the situation of Newcastle's immigrant pupils to emerge in the 1980s, the Mother-Tongue Teaching Report on the Schools Language Survey, dates from 18 September 1985 and puts the number of immigrant

into the Education of Children From Ethnic Minority Groups, *"Education For All": A Summary of the Swann Report on the Education of Children From Ethnic Minority Groups* (London, 1985).

⁶¹⁹ The Swann Report, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, p. 1.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

⁶²¹ See C. Mullard, 'Multiracial Education in Britain', in M. Arnot (ed.), *Race and Gender: Equal Opportunities Policies in Education* (Milton Keynes, 1985), Rattansi, 'Changing the Subject' and D. Gillborn, 'Racism, Policy and the (Mis)education of Black Children', in R. Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children* (London, 2001). For Birmingham see D. Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain: Interaction Between the Muslim Community and Birmingham Schools', *Muslims in Europe* 41 (March 1989).

⁶²² Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, pp. 1-3.

pupils at 2,160.⁶²³ The six main languages spoken amongst these pupils were Punjabi, Urdu, Bengali, Cantonese, Hindi and Arabic and, combined, accounted for over 75% of the city's immigrant pupils.⁶²⁴ With the exception of Cantonese, which undoubtedly represents Newcastle's Chinese community, the other five languages were unquestionably spoken by the city's Muslim immigrant community. Punjabi, Urdu, Bengali and Hindi are all spoken in either India, Pakistan or Bangladesh and Arabic would have been the mother-tongue of those Muslim immigrants originating from countries such as Yemen, Algeria and Morocco, as well as being the liturgical language of Islam.

These 2,160 immigrant pupils constituted 4.9% of Newcastle's total school population of 41,000 in the autumn of 1984, a large increase from the 1.6% in both primary and secondary schools in November 1967.⁶²⁵ Again, it must be noted that, despite this increase, the number of ethnic minority children present in Newcastle's schools was still very small compared with other British cities. The 1986 figures for Birmingham, for example, state that immigrant pupils constituted 33% of the city's student body at nursery level, 30% at primary level and 20% at secondary level.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, Newcastle's number of immigrant schoolchildren was very small compared to that of Bremen which, already in 1970, stood at just under 25,000.⁶²⁷ However, despite Newcastle's comparably small immigrant student body, there is little doubt that its increase played a role in putting the education of immigrant pupils back onto Newcastle's political agenda during the mid-1980s.

It remains uncontested, however, that it was the Swann Report that propelled local authorities across Britain to address the educational needs of immigrant pupils during the

⁶²³ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 September 1985–15 July 1987, Mother-Tongue Teaching Report on the Schools Language Survey-Conducted in Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools, Autumn, 1984, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., Appendix A.

⁶²⁵ Ibid., Appendix A.

⁶²⁶ See Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', p. 7 and M. Coles, *Briefing Paper Four: Community Languages* (Birmingham, 30 January 1986).

⁶²⁷ See Statistische Monatsberichte der Freie Hansestadt Bremen, Journal 4, Schulbesuch und Schulerfolg ausländischer Schüler, April 1978, Statistisches Landesamt Bremen, p. 99.

1980s.⁶²⁸ The same was witnessed in Newcastle where it had a clear impact on the post-1985 approach and policies adopted by Newcastle City Council. As will be discussed, Newcastle's local authority focused on three main areas during the mid to late 1980s, all of which were suggestions detailed in the Swann Report. These areas were the promotion of ethnic minority participation and language within the education sector, the establishment of a record of reported racial incidents that either took place in schools or were somehow connected to education, and the collection of ethnically-based statistics on immigrant pupils.⁶²⁹ Some of the archival documents used to describe and analyse how Newcastle's local authority implemented the three aforementioned measures date from before the committee's publication of the final Swann Report. It must be realised, however, that the measures and policies introduced were nevertheless still a consequence of the Swann committee that had been established in 1979 and had published reports and offered advice on multicultural education long before the final Swann Report.⁶³⁰

The first measure implemented by Newcastle City Council during the mid-1980s focused on increasing the participation of ethnic minorities within the education sector. Amongst other things, the two main suggestions stressed were the promotion of mother-tongue languages and the appointment of ethnic minority teachers, two measures that were also implemented in Bremen during the late 1970s.⁶³¹ Both of these measures were an attempt by Newcastle City Council to transform the pre-Swann assimilationist

⁶²⁸ For Birmingham see Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain'. For Leicester see Wrigley, 'Rushey Mead School, Leicester'. For Bradford see Wrigley, 'Whetley Primary School, Bradford'. See also A. Hannan, 'Racism, Politics and the Curriculum', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 8 (1987), pp. 119-133, A. Hannan, 'The Education and Training of Teachers and the Multicultural Dimension', *Multiracial Education* 13 (1985), pp. 15-28 and J. Lynch, *Multicultural Education: Principles and Practice* (London, 1986).

⁶²⁹ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 September 1985-15 July 1987, 'The Swann Report: Digest of the Report of the Swann Committee on 'Education for All'', 15 March 1985 as part of City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Education Committee, Schools Sub-Committee and Racial Equality Sub-Committee, 'The Swann Report', 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁶³⁰ See The Swann Report, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, J. Rex, 'Equality of Opportunity and the Ethnic Minority Child in British Schools', in S. Modgil, G. Verma, K. Mallick and D. Modgil (eds.), *Multicultural Education: The Interminable Debate* (Barcombe, 1986), pp. 215-218 and Archer and Francis, *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement*, pp. 16-17.

⁶³¹ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 March 1983-17 July 1985, Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee, Co-opted Members, 6 February 1984, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service, pp. 2-3.

education system into a post-Swann multicultural one.⁶³² The first available archival document addressing the teaching of immigrant pupils took the form of a Report of the Education Working Groups that dates from 12 July 1984.⁶³³ It states that 'the languages of ethnic minority children should have the same status as other modern languages in schools and provision should be made to teach them.'⁶³⁴

This sentiment was echoed fourteen months later by the Schools Sub-Committee and Racial Equality Sub-Committee as a result of a survey that was conducted in schools in Newcastle in the autumn of 1984.⁶³⁵ The report stated that, at the time, there were fifty-five different languages spoken by immigrant pupils in the city. It concluded that the speaking of these languages should be encouraged, as it was believed that those students whose mother-tongue was supported made better progress in English.⁶³⁶ It is this last point that marks a key difference between the policies adopted in Newcastle and Bremen. Whilst Newcastle's authority introduced mother-tongue teaching partly as a linguistic aid to learning English, as will later be discussed, Bremen's local government promoted teaching of mother tongues due to an uncertainty surrounding the immigrant community's future in the city.

Newcastle's local authority was by no means alone in adopting this recommendation from the Swann Report. From 1980 onwards, local education authorities across Britain underwent increased pressure to introduce the teaching of ethnic minority languages.⁶³⁷ Already by 1980, for example, two new projects had been established in

⁶³² See Carlton, 'Understanding Multicultural/Anti-Racist Education for Practice', Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', p. 1, Archer and Francis, *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement*, pp. 16-17, Mullard, 'Multiracial Education in Britain', Rattansi, 'Changing the Subject', Verma, *Education for All* and Shaw, 'The Incoherence of Multicultural Education'.

⁶³³ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 March 1983-17 July 1985, Racial Equality Seminar, Report of the Education Working Groups, 12 July 1984, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶³⁵ Mother-Tongue Teaching Report on the Schools Language Survey Conducted in Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools, Autumn, 1984, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.1. See also M. Atkins, 'Minority Community Languages: Problems, Strategies and Issues for Teacher Educators', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 33 (1985), pp. 58-59, J. Cummins, 'The Construct of Language Proficiency in Bilingual Education', in J. Atalis (ed.), *Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics* (Washington D.C., 1980), J. Cummins, 'The Role of Primary Language Development in Promoting Educational Success for Language Minority Students', in *Schooling and Language Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework* (Los Angeles, 1981) and Bradford LEA, *Community Language Teaching* (City of Bradford, 1983).

⁶³⁷ See Atkins, 'Minority Community Languages', J. Miller, *Many Voices: Bilingualism, Culture and Education* (London, 1983), Bradford LEA, *Community Language Teaching*, National Union of Teachers,

East London with the aim of forming the basis of a multicultural education, particularly for Asian pupils.⁶³⁸ Birmingham's Local Education Authority adopted a multicultural education policy already in June 1981, following the publication of the Rampton Report, the first report issued by the Swann Committee. This included the provision for immigrants' mother-tongue languages, and the creation of a post for an advisor in bilingualism and a multicultural resource centre in order to realise this aim.⁶³⁹ A concrete reason as to why Newcastle's local authority did not act until a few years after those of London and Birmingham is not given. However, it was without a doubt the larger immigrant communities of these two cities that made the affair more pressing. After all, the problems faced by Muslim immigrant pupils in both cities have historically been well documented.⁶⁴⁰

Not only did Newcastle's local authority respond later than many to a call for multicultural education, it also strongly disagreed with the manner in which the Swann Report suggested implementing mother-tongue language teaching. According to the report, immigrant pupils should learn to speak and write their mother tongues within their respective communities, not within mainstream schools. The Swann Committee believed that the formation of separate "language groups" within the classroom would only confirm social divisions between different groups of pupils. Newcastle's Schools Sub-Committee and Racial Equality Sub-Committee questioned this method, however, because it argued that not all of the city's immigrant pupils had access to this type of language support outside of the classroom.⁶⁴¹ This was, in fact, a common complaint about the Swann Report.⁶⁴² Furthermore, studies have asserted that supplementary

Mother Tongue Teaching (NUT, 1982), J. Broadbent, 'Modern Languages', in A. Craft and G. Bardell (eds.), *Curriculum Opportunities in a Multicultural Society* (London, 1984), pp. 92-109 and M. Craft and M. Atkins, *Training Teachers of Ethnic Minority Community Languages* (Nottingham, 1983).

⁶³⁸ See Nixon, 'Multi-ethnic Education in Inner London', pp. 383-384.

⁶³⁹ See Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', p. 4.

⁶⁴⁰ See Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', J. Nielsen, 'A Survey of British Local Authority Response to Muslim Needs', *Research Papers, Muslims in Europe* 30/31 (1986), Little, Mabey and Whitaker, 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools' and H. Rosen and T. Burgess, *Languages and Dialects of London Schoolchildren: An Investigation* (London, 1980).

⁶⁴¹ Mother-Tongue Teaching Report on the Schools Language Survey Conducted in Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, p. 2.

⁶⁴² See Atkins, 'Minority Community Languages', pp. 66-67, R. Taft, 'The Social and Ideological Context of Multicultural Education in Immigrant Countries', in T. Husén and S. Oppen (eds.), *Multicultural and Multilingual Education in Immigrant Countries* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 1-14, M. Guitart, 'The Question of Language Loyalty', in R. St. Clair (ed.), *Social and Educational Issues in Bilingualism and Biculturalism*

schools are the result of immigrant pupils' needs not being met in mainstream schools. This has been the case for Asian supplementary schools in Coventry and the Sparkbrook Islamic Centre in Birmingham.⁶⁴³ There is little doubt that these case studies illustrate the challenging task that Newcastle City Council was undertaking.

It was the council's aim to introduce a scheme that would assist with the teaching of mother tongues, whilst also ensuring that segregation did not take place. It was decided that twenty mother-tongue teachers were to be divided between the city's primary and secondary schools. These teachers were to work in collaboration with class teachers and not pull the immigrant pupils away from normal lessons, but rather support the mother-tongue language skills of pupils under the supervision of class teachers. Based on the break-down of the city's immigrant pupils according to mother tongues, fifteen peripatetic teachers were to cover Punjabi and Urdu, two were to cover Bengali, two Cantonese and one Hindi.⁶⁴⁴ Such teachers were also introduced in Bremen, but in after-school centres rather than in mainstream schools.

Furthermore, these education committees determined that, if this concept of mother-tongue language support was to be pursued effectively, a certain level of awareness needed to be raised amongst all parties concerned. Consequently, there were to be increased opportunities for all teachers to become experts in the teaching of ethnic minority languages and appropriate teaching courses in language teaching methodology were to be provided. Furthermore, language awareness courses in schools were designed in order to promote the development of positive attitudes towards ethnic minority languages.⁶⁴⁵ This last proposal was an especially important concern amongst the education committees during the mid-1980s. According to an equal opportunity monitoring report compiled by the Education Department, out of the ninety teaching

(Washington, D.C., 1981), V. Edwards, *Language in a Black Community* (Clevedon, 1986) and J. Tollefson, *Planning Language, Planning Inequality* (New York, 1991).

⁶⁴³ See Nagra, 'Asian Supplementary Schools', J. Nagra, 'Asian Languages in Sidney Stringer School and Community College, Coventry', *Co-ordinating Committee for Mother-Tongue Teaching Newsletter 5* (1980), J. Nagra, *Asian Supplementary Schools and the Attitudes of Asian Children and Parents Towards the Teaching of the Mother-Tongue*, Unpublished M.Ed Thesis, University of Birmingham (1980) and R. Homan, 'The Supplementary School: Development and Implications', in Modgil, Verma, Mallick and Modgil, *Multicultural Education*, pp. 171-173.

⁶⁴⁴ Mother-Tongue Teaching Report on the Schools Language Survey Conducted in Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

posts filled between 1 January 1985 and 30 April 1985, only one was filled by a member of an ethnic minority.⁶⁴⁶ The existing shortcomings and proposals introduced were not dissimilar from those in other British cities at the time.⁶⁴⁷

Before progressing to the other consequences the Swann Report had on Newcastle's education policy, it is necessary to assess the extent to which the measures introduced relating to language met the needs of the local Muslim immigrant population. The first observation one can make is the manner in which the assimilationist-influenced teaching of the English language during the late 1960s was replaced with the multiculturalist-influenced teacher of mother tongues during the 1980s. After the December 1967 Education Committee report, there is no further mention of immigrant pupils with poor English-language skills.⁶⁴⁸ Whilst the 1960s and 1970s had witnessed the emergence of government reports, such as *English for Immigrants* and works such as *The Teaching of English to the Children of Immigrants*, the main focus of the 1980s was the teaching of ethnic minority languages.⁶⁴⁹

This shift in focus from the teaching of the English language to the teaching of

⁶⁴⁶ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 September 1985–15 July 1987, Equal Opportunity Monitoring. Education Department: Analysis of Teaching Posts Filled 01/01/85–30/04/85, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service, p. 19. See also N. Burtonwood, 'INSET and Education for Multicultural Society: A Review of the Literature', *British Educational Research Journal* 16 (1990), p. 329, Commission for Racial Equality, *Ethnic Minority Teachers* (London, 1988), Commission for Racial Equality, *Evidence Submitted to the Education, Science and Arts Committee of the House of Commons. The Supply of Teachers for the 1990s* (London, 1989) and G. Hackett, 'Learning Skills to Move off the Bottom Rungs', *The Times Educational Supplement* (3 March 1989).

⁶⁴⁷ See Rosen and Burgess, *Languages and Dialects of London Schoolchildren*, M. Craft, *Teaching in a Multicultural Society: The Task for Teacher Education* (London, 1981), M. Tsow, 'Analysis of Responses to a National Survey of Mother Tongue Teaching in LEAs 1980–1982', *Educational Research* 25 (1983), pp. 202–208, Craft and Atkins, *Training Teachers of Ethnic Minority Community Languages*, Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', p. 7 and Wrigley, *The Power to Learn*, p. 173.

⁶⁴⁸ Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 4.

⁶⁴⁹ See Ministry of Education, *English for Immigrants*, Pamphlet No. 43 (London, 1963) and J. Derrick, *The Teaching of English to the Children of Immigrants* (Unpublished Report for the Schools Council, 1966). For the 1960s and 1970s, see also National Foundation for Educational Research, *Tests of Proficiency in English* (London, 1973), E. Rudd, 'English Language Tests: Evaluating the Use of English', *Multiracial School* 4 (1975), Schools Council, *English for the Children of Immigrants*, Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford', Bagley, 'The Educational Performance of Immigrant Children' and Stoddart and Stoddart, *The Teaching of English to Immigrant Children*. For the 1980s, see M. Brook, 'The Mother-Tongue Issue in Britain – Cultural Diversity or Control', *British Journal of the Sociology of Education* 1 (1980), pp. 237–256, V. Saifullah-Khan, *Linguistic Minorities Project* (London, 1981), G. Donmall, 'The Developing Role of Language Awareness in the UK as a Response to Problems Posed by Linguistic Diversity', *European Journal of Education* 19 (1984), pp. 25–37 and S. Tomlinson, 'A Note on the Education of Ethnic Minority Children in Britain', *International Migration Review* 16 (1982), pp. 646–660.

ethnic minority languages took place despite an increase in the number of immigrant pupils in Newcastle's schools and the council's 1967 admission that the more immigrant pupils in each classroom, the less likely they are to become acquainted with the English language.⁶⁵⁰ Similarly, Little, Mabey and Whitaker's 1968 study of immigrant pupils in Inner London primary schools concluded that immigrants in schools with higher numbers of recent-arrivals had a lower proficiency in the English language than those immigrant pupils in classes and schools with a smaller ethnic minority population.⁶⁵¹ Furthermore, Peace's 1971 study of Asian immigrant infant school children in Bradford confirmed this theory.⁶⁵²

Yet, despite the 1965 Ministry of Education and Science's recommended "dispersal policy" and these seminal and renowned studies illustrating the possible detrimental linguistic outcomes when having too many immigrant pupils in the same classroom or school, Newcastle City Council's former focus on the teaching of English regarding the city's immigrant pupils population seems to have been entirely discarded by the mid-1980s.⁶⁵³ It appears as though, as a result of the Swann Report, Newcastle City Council was concerned primarily with promoting multiculturalism by means of teaching the mother tongues of the city's ethnic minorities and adhering to national quotas for ethnic minority teachers. As a result, the real obstacles facing immigrant pupils, such as the need to speak the English language to a given level in order to succeed academically, were neglected.⁶⁵⁴ This proved to be the exact opposite to Bremen where, when it was realised by the early 1980s that the majority of the Turkish population had settled for the long-term, the instruction of mother tongues was halted.

The second consequence the Swann Report had on Newcastle City Council took the form of measures designed to combat racism. Firstly, the Local Government and

⁶⁵⁰ See Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 1.

⁶⁵¹ Little, Mabey and Whitaker, 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools'.

⁶⁵² Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford'.

⁶⁵³ See Ministry of Education and Science, *The Education of Immigrants*, Male, 'Multicultural Education and Education Policy', Killian, 'School Busing in Britain', Kogan, *Dispersal the Ealing Local Education Authority System* and Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*.

⁶⁵³ See Male, 'Multicultural Education and Education Policy', p. 293.

⁶⁵³ See Miller, 'Race Relations and Schools in Great Britain', p. 253 and Kirp, 'The Vagaries of Discrimination', p. 272.

⁶⁵⁴ See OECD, *Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators* (Paris, 1993) and M. Loewenberg and B. Wass, 'Provision for the Development of the Linguistic Proficiency of Young Immigrants in England and Wales and France: A Comparative Study', *Comparative Education* 33 (1997), pp. 395-409.

Racial Equality Sub-Committee decided in March 1987 that anti-racism training was to be provided to Education Officers, Advisors and Head Teachers. Secondly, a system was established by which racial incidents in the city's schools were to be recorded.⁶⁵⁵ Such a measure was never introduced in Bremen. The first available record of these incidents was compiled by the City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools Sub-Committee on 9 July 1985 and the last one, issued by the Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee, dates from 22 March 1988.⁶⁵⁶ The earlier report provides guidelines that schools were to follow in order to effectively raise awareness of multiculturalism amongst pupils. In addition to the monitoring of racial incidents, the curriculum was to include multicultural and anti-racist training, all learning material and books were to be vetted in order to ensure that they did not contain any racist contents and kitchen staff was to be trained for the provision of ethnic minority diets.⁶⁵⁷ These changes were not particular to Newcastle, but were witnessed in cities across Britain.⁶⁵⁸

It is on the reporting of racial incidents that Newcastle's local government primarily focused during the following years. Up until this point, schools had independently addressed racial incidents amongst their respective pupils.⁶⁵⁹ In July 1985, however, the City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools Sub-Committee compiled the first report of racial incidents within the city's education sector. The available documents

⁶⁵⁵ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 September 1985–15 July 1987, Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee, *Strategies for Combating Racism – Head Teachers' Courses*. Report of Head of Education Department, 18 March 1987, MD.NC/162/2, Tyne & Wear Archives Service, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁶ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 18 March 1983–17 July 1985, City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools Sub-Committee, *Report of Racial Incidents*, 9 July 1985, MD.NC/162/1, Tyne & Wear Archives Service and Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 6 August 1987–16 March 1988, Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee and Education (Schools) Sub-Committee, *Monitoring of Racial Incidents in Schools*, 22 March 1988, MD.NC/162/3, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁶⁵⁷ *Report of Racial Incidents*, 9 July 1985, MD.NC/162/1, pp. 1-3.

⁶⁵⁸ See Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', D. Joly, *Britannia's Crescent: Making a Place for Muslims in British Society* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 16, J. Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 54, M. Parker-Jenkins, *Educating Muslim Children* (Nottingham, 1993), R. Dennick, *Antiracist Multicultural Science Education*, Unpublished M.Ed Dissertation (University of Nottingham, 1990), R. Grinter, 'Transferring the National Curriculum Developments in an Anti-Racist Campaign', *Multicultural Teaching* 8 (Summer 1990), Iqra Trust, *Meeting the Needs of Muslim Pupils: Advice for Teachers and LEAs* (London, 1991), M. McDermott and M. Ashan, *The Muslim Guide: For Teachers, Employers, Community Workers and Social Administrators in Britain* (London, 1980), Nottinghamshire County Council, *Education and Attitudes* (1990) and B. Troyna, 'Beyond Multiculturalism: Towards the Enactment of Anti-Racist Education in Policy, Provision and Pedagogy', *Oxford Review of Education* 13 (1987).

⁶⁵⁹ *Report of Racial Incidents*, 9 July 1985, MD.NC/162/1, p. 3.

dating from July 1985 to March 1988 do nothing more than provide a list of the racial incidents that were reported, giving the date, the nature of the incident and the school each one took place in. As would be expected, the majority took place in schools in the West End where a large proportion of the city's Muslim immigrant population lived. Most of them involved racial abuse and were addressed internally, either by teacher or, in a few cases, by a Religious Education Advisor.

Again, this measure was not particular to Newcastle. The historiography has repeatedly pointed out how combating racism was one of the key aims of education policies during the 1970s and 1980s. These policies helped shape the British school system and impacted upon local education authorities across Britain.⁶⁶⁰ It proves difficult to assess the effect that this overarching monitoring system had on improving the school experiences and promoting the integration of Newcastle's immigrant pupils. There is little doubt, however, that racist incidents in schools did not disappear entirely as a result of this measure. A 1992 study of immigrant women in Newcastle entitled *Women Talking* provides primary accounts of racism endured in the city's schools.⁶⁶¹ They speak of racial harassment, unsympathetic teachers, and the increased racism endured in Newcastle's West End.⁶⁶²

Not only did the nationwide multiculturalist sentiment of the 1980s propel Newcastle City Council to record statistics concerning the racial harassment of the city's immigrant pupils, but also those covering a much wider span of their lives. In August 1987, the council received a letter from the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (AMA) requesting it to partake in the collection of statistics concerning immigrant school pupils.⁶⁶³ According to the report, this database would assist local education authorities,

⁶⁶⁰ See D. Gillborn, 'Racism and Reform: New Ethnicities/Old Inequalities?', *British Educational Research Journal* 23 (1997), pp. 345-360, Centre for Multicultural Education, *Sagaland: Youth Culture, Racism and Education* (London, 1993), Commission for Racial Equality, *Ethnic Monitoring in Education* (London, 1992), Department for Education, *Ethnic Monitoring of School Pupils: A Consultation Paper* (London, 1995), D. Gillborn, *Racism and Antiracism in Real Schools: Theory, Policy, Practice* (Buckingham, 1995) and B. Troyna and B. Carrington, *Education, Racism and Reform* (London, 1990).

⁶⁶¹ *Women Talking*, Benwell Library West Newcastle Local Studies (Newcastle, 1992).

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁶³ See Runnymede Trust, *Ethnic Monitoring of School Pupils: Memorandum From the Runnymede Trust* (London, 1995), Commission for Racial Equality, *Ethnic Monitoring in Education* and Department for Education, *Ethnic Monitoring of School Pupils*.

schools and parents in ensuring equality of opportunity for ethnic minority pupils.⁶⁶⁴ Newcastle's Education Committee first met to discuss this collection of ethnically-based statistics on 3 November 1987.⁶⁶⁵ In theory, it agreed with setting up this collection in adherence to the notions proposed in the Swann Report. It thought that the addition of language and religion to the data collected was of particular importance, arguing that religion, in particular, was central to the understanding and education of Newcastle's ethnic communities.⁶⁶⁶

The committee's sole objection was the manner in which immigrant pupils were classified. As was discussed in relation to the employment and housing chapters, the classification of the city's ethnic minorities by Newcastle's local authority often did not provide a true insight into either the origins or religions of the immigrants concerned. The collection of ethnically-based statistics proposed by the AMA adhered to this 1980s custom and, having started to provide more detailed categorisations in other sectors, Newcastle's Education Committee thought that this should also be the case in that of education. However, regardless of this discrepancy, this collection of ethnically-based statistics is undoubtedly a further indicator of the impact the Swann Report had on the manner in which Newcastle's local authority approached the performance of immigrant pupils in the education sector during the 1980s.

Indeed, as has been demonstrated by the archival documents, the council's behaviour towards ethnic minority pupils was in its entirety dictated by policies and trends at a national level. The volume of policies introduced in Britain from the end of the Second World War onwards was a clear demonstration of the importance of the education sector as the one domain in which members of the nation's indigenous population mixed freely with immigrant youths.⁶⁶⁷ Although its significance was indeed mirrored in the

⁶⁶⁴ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 6 August 1987–16 March 1988, Association of Metropolitan Authorities. Collection of Ethnically-Based Statistics on School Pupils, 13 August 1987, MD.NC/162/3, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁶⁶⁵ Local Government and Racial Equality Sub-Committee of Corporate Joint Sub-Committee 6 August 1987–16 March 1988, Education Committee, Ethnically Based Statistics on School Pupils – A Draft Des Circular, 3 November 1987, MD.NC/162/3, Tyne & Wear Archives Service.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 1.

⁶⁶⁷ See Burgin and Edson, *Spring Grove*, Evans and Le Page, *The Education of West Indian Immigrant Children*, Derrick, *Teaching English to Immigrants*, Hawkes, *Immigrant Children in British Schools*, McEwen, Gipps and Sumner, *Language Proficiency in the Multi Racial Junior School*, Power, *Immigrants in School*, Stoddart and Stoddart, *Teaching of English to Immigrant Children*, Taylor, *Race, School and*

Education Committee's late 1960s proposals, the ideas put forward were merely a direct consequence of the assimilationist views being advanced at Whitehall.

The Swann Report immediately paved the way for a change in policy within Newcastle's local authority, which witnessed the introduction of mother tongue teaching, the attempt to hire more ethnic-minority teachers, the monitoring of racist incidents at schools and an overarching nationwide database of ethnically-based statistics concerning school pupils.⁶⁶⁸ As previously discussed, it appears as though these measures were implemented more in order to demonstrate an allegiance to national policies and trends than to assist the integration of the local Muslim immigrant community's school pupils. Yet, according to the results of Taylor's late 1960's study and the archival documents, Newcastle's immigrant pupils perform, on the whole, either as well or almost as well as their indigenous counterparts.⁶⁶⁹ Therefore, it is likely that, as proved to be the case in the employment and housing sectors, these immigrants have historically succeeded in spite of the system, not because of it.

It is clear that Newcastle's Muslim community does not adhere to the consistent educational underachievement that has been persistent amongst immigrants in cities with large ethnic minority communities, such as London, Birmingham and Bradford.⁶⁷⁰ Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community appears to have succeeded, not because of the importance historically given to this sector by both national and local governments,

Community, Townsend and Brittan, *Organization in Multiracial Schools*, Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children*, Coard, *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-normal*, Bhatnagar, *Immigrants at Schools*, Goldman and Taylor, 'Coloured Immigrant Children', Black Peoples Progressive Association and Redbridge Community Relations Council, *Cause for Concern*, Silberman and Spice, *Colour and Class in Six Liverpool Schools*, Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham*, Little, Mabey and Whitaker, 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools', Wrigley, *The Power to Learn* and Archer and Francis, *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement*.

⁶⁶⁸ See also Mullard, 'Multiracial Education in Britain', Rattansi, 'Changing the Subject', Gillborn, 'Racism and Reform' and Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain'.

⁶⁶⁹ Taylor, *The Half-Way Generation*. See also Department of Education and Science, *Education For All*, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education in England, *Children and Their Primary Schools* (HMSO, 1967), D. Johnson, 'Educational Research and Development in Britain', in L. Cohen, J. Thomas and L. Manion (eds.), *Educational Research and Development in Britain, 1970-1980* (Slough, 1982) and J. Douglas, *The Home and the School* (London, 1964).

⁶⁷⁰ See Little, 'The Educational Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in London Schools', Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford', Bagley, 'The Educational Performance of Immigrant Children', Saint, *The Scholastic and Sociological Adjustment Problems of the Punjabi-Speaking Children in Smethwick*, K. Fitzherbert, *West Indian Children in London* (London, 1967) and Taylor, *Caught Between*.

not because of recognition by scholars or politicians, and certainly not because of local measures that have been nothing more than the result of national statutory requirements.

This problem manifested itself in the preoccupation of the local education authorities with bureaucracy and statistical accumulation, rather than academic performance and integration. When comparing the situation of Newcastle to that of Bremen, it will be essential to assess whether a lack of national policies within the education sector, due to Germany's federal structure, has had an impact on the manner in which the performance of Muslim immigrant pupils in schools has been approached. The lack of involvement of the federal government and Bremen's comparatively larger Muslim immigrant population both mark important contrasts with the situation described in Newcastle. Has the ability to introduce local policies and measures for the sole benefit of a local immigrant community further promoted integration as would be expected or have the beliefs surrounding the city's guest-workers once again hindered their chances of success?

The Education of Muslim Immigrant Children and Youths in Bremen: "Late for School".

Despite the official recruitment halt of 1973, the number of foreigners in Germany has since risen.⁶⁷¹ This increase was most apparent amongst schoolchildren whose numbers rose from 358,000 to 450,000 between 1975 and 1977 alone.⁶⁷² The birth rate amongst the immigrant population has historically been much higher than that of the indigenous population. Whilst in 1965, 3.6% of all births in West Germany were to foreigners, this figure had risen to 7.8% by 1970 and 20% by 1975.⁶⁷³ By the end of 2002, circa 1.9 million Turks lived in Germany of which two thirds were younger than 35

⁶⁷¹ See M. Hohmann, 'Spanische Gastarbeiterkinder in niederrheinischen Industriestädten, Materialien und Analysen', *Zeitschrift für Jugendhilfe in Wissenschaft und Praxis* 23 (1971), pp. 493-511, A. Schrader, *Die zweite Generation: Ausländische Kinder in der Bundesrepublik* (Darmstadt, 1976), Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', pp. 355-356, Abadan-Unat, 'Educational Problems of Turkish Migrants' Children', pp. 312-313, B. McLaughlin and P. Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany: Recent Developments', *Comparative Education* 21 (1985), pp. 241-243, S. Worbs, 'The Second Generation in Germany: Between School and Labor Market', *International Migration Review* 37 (2003), pp. 1012-1015 and Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, *Repräsentativ-Untersuchung '72* (Nuremberg, 1973), pp. 25.

⁶⁷² W. Bodenbender, *Zwischenbilanz der Ausländerpolitik*.

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

years old.⁶⁷⁴ Although Turks make up the largest groups of foreigners living in Germany, the historiography has asserted that they have significantly lower educational levels than Germans and other ethnic groups, have the lowest rate of graduating from all types of schools and are the least represented in Germany's better schools.⁶⁷⁵

As was seen in the previous two chapters, Bremen's local authority did not effectively provide for its Muslim immigrants in the employment and housing sectors until a much later stage than was the case in Newcastle. This was a result of the ideology behind the guest-worker rotation system and West Germany's strong declaration that it was not a country of immigrants.⁶⁷⁶ Whilst government initiatives in relation to the education of immigrants in Britain were notable due to their volume and the early stage at which they were first introduced, those in Germany were noteworthy for the fact that they were implemented at an even later stage than those pertaining to other sectors. This situation has often been enhanced by the fact that education is state controlled and, therefore, differs from one *Bundesland* to another, lacking centralised accountability.⁶⁷⁷

It is within the education sector, therefore, that the differing experiences of

⁶⁷⁴ See Worbs, 'The Second Generation in Germany', p. 1013.

⁶⁷⁵ See Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen über die Lage der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin/Bonn, 2000), R. Alba, J. Handl and W. Müller, 'Ethnische Ungleichheit im deutschen Bildungssystem', *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 46 (1994), pp. 209-237, R. Dinkel, M. Luy and U. Lebok, 'Die Bildungsbeteiligung deutscher und ausländischer Jugendlicher in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', in P. Lüttinger (ed.), *Sozialstrukturanalysen mit dem Mikrozensus* (ZUMA Nachrichten Spezial 6 Mannheim, 1999), pp. 354-375, C. Kristen, 'Hauptschule, Realschule oder Gymnasium? Ethnische Unterschiede am ersten Bildungsübergang', *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 54 (2002), pp. 534-552, P. Stanat, 'Schulleistungen von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund – Differenzierung deskriptiver Befunde aus PISA und PISA-E' in *Deutsches PISA-Konsortium: PISA 2000 Ein differenzierter Blick auf die Länder der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Opladen, 2003), pp. 243-260, Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration über die Lage der Ausländerinnen und Ausländer in Deutschland* (Berlin, 2005), p. 53, J. Söhn and Ö. Veysel, 'The Educational Attainment of Turkish Migrants in Germany', *Turkish Studies* 7 (2006), pp. 101-124 and S. Von Below, 'What are the Chances of Young Turks and Italians for Equal Education and Employment in Germany? The Role of Objective and Subjective Indicators', *Social Indicators Research* 82 (2007), pp. 209-231.

⁶⁷⁶ See Hill, 'Democratic Education in West Germany', p. 274, Faist, 'How to Define a Foreigner?', p. 51, Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*, pp. 19-20, Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', p. 358 and Council of Europe, *Ad Hoc Conference on the Education of Migrants*.

⁶⁷⁷ See Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 189, Faist, 'From School to Work', S. Castles, *Here For Good*, Wilpert, 'Children of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany', Regierungspräsident Köln, 'Ausländische Schüler und Lehrer an deutschen Schulen in der Stadt Köln', *Schriftenreihe des Regierungspräsidenten Köln* 13 (1974) and F. Ronneberger, *Zukunftserwartungen der Kinder türkischer Arbeitnehmer. Türkische Kinder in Deutschland* (Nuremberg, 1977).

immigration of Britain and Germany again become apparent. The historical literature has left little doubt that, no matter what approach has been implemented, states across Germany have struggled to successfully integrate Turkish children within their respective education sectors.⁶⁷⁸ Furthermore, what is immediately seen is the manner in which, unlike in Britain where Muslim immigrant communities from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh settled for the long-term from the offset, Germany's Muslim Turkish community did not. These historical precedents have dominated both Newcastle's and Bremen's post-1960s education policies towards immigrants.

Although, as previously discussed, the initiatives in Newcastle shifted from an assimilationist nature in the late 1960s to a multiculturalist orientation from the mid-1980s onwards, both approaches were nevertheless aimed at a permanent Muslim immigrant community. The manner in which integration was attempted simply changed over time due to overarching national policies. In Bremen, however, the measures of the 1970s and 1980s that will subsequently be discussed were introduced amidst a period of confusion with regards to the city's ethnic minority population. They were implemented at a time when it was uncertain whether the majority of the Turkish population would be settling for the long-term, not only in Bremen, but across Germany as a whole.⁶⁷⁹

There is little doubt that, when compared to the situation in Newcastle, Bremen's local authority's provision of education for immigrant youths was long overdue. This is seen in the fact that, whilst Newcastle City Council's first in-depth assessment of Muslim immigrant pupils took place in late 1967, the first available document addressing the

⁶⁷⁸ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Die Brücke zur Heimat nicht abbrechen', pp. 20-21, Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Das Kultusministerium weist Angriffe auf das bayerische Modell zur schulischen Betreuung der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer zurück', *Pressereferat* (1975), Berlin Senator für Schulwesen, *Ausführungsvorschriften über den Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer und für jugendliche ausländischer Arbeitnehmer* (Berlin, 1971), Ferber and Mueller, 'Probleme einer gemeinsamen Erziehung deutscher und ausländischer Vorschulkinder' and German Tribune, 'Foreign Children in Frankfurt too Long in Separate Classes' (3 January 1977).

⁶⁷⁹ See U. Littmann, *An Introduction to the Confusion of German Education* (Bonn, 1976), Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, p. 188, B. John, 'Deutschunterricht für ausländische Kinder: Zur Situation in der Berliner Schule', *Deutsch lernen* 5 (1980), pp. 38-45, H. Gärtner, 'Kinder ausländischer Arbeiter in deutschen Schulen', *Die deutsche Schule* 10 (1977), pp. 580-587, Abadan-Unat, 'Educational Problems of Turkish Migrants' Children', p. 314, Beck, 'Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany', p. 7 and U. Röhr-Sendlmeier, 'Die Bildungspolitik zum Unterricht für ausländische Kinder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland – Eine kritische Betrachtung der vergangenen 30 Jahre', *Deutsch Lernen* 1 (1986), p. 52.

situation in Bremen did not emerge until April 1977, almost ten years later.⁶⁸⁰ This document took the form of a *Bremische Bürgerschaft Drucksache* (*Pamphlet of the City Parliament of Bremen*).⁶⁸¹ The two other key archival documents that emerged during this period are two reports issued in the *Statistische Monatsberichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (Statistical Monthly Report of the Free Hanseatic City-State of Bremen) dating from April 1978 and June 1981.⁶⁸² The pamphlet supplies an account of measures and policies introduced by Bremen's local government during the late 1970s in an attempt to facilitate the integration of the city's immigrant pupils, whilst the latter two provide a description of the immigrant youth community.

In accordance with the established historiography, one of the most prevailing characteristics of Bremen's immigrants, according to the 1981 *Statistische Monatsberichte*, was that they tended to be relatively uneducated compared to the city's indigenous population.⁶⁸³ Therefore, the education of second-generation immigrants has traditionally been perceived as a challenge. This was further enhanced by the fact that as many as two-thirds of Turkish male immigrants who lived in Bremen in 1977 had previously lived in a rural area where they had worked the land. Hence, it was strongly believed that Bremen's industrial-dominant society proved to be a new and daunting experience for them as well as their children.⁶⁸⁴ It is not surprising that it was believed that parental education attainment had a direct impact on that of children as studies addressing ethnic minority communities in the Western world have repeatedly stressed

⁶⁸⁰ See Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149.

⁶⁸¹ Drucksachen Band 3 9/451–9/620 March 1977–October 1977, *Bremische Bürgerschaft Landtag* 9. Wahlperiode, Drucksache 9/484, Antwort des Senats zur kleinen Anfrage der Fraktion der FDP vom 1. März 1977 (Drs. 9/455) – Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, 25 April 1977, *Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek*.

⁶⁸² Schulbesuch und Schulerfolg ausländische Schüler, April 1978 and *Statistische Monatsberichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 33. Jahrgang Journal 6, Schulbesuch und Schulererfolg ausländischer Schüler an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen der Stadt Bremen, June 1981, Statistisches Landesamt Bremen.

⁶⁸³ See Gang and Zimmermann, 'Is Child Like Parent?', pp. 552–553, S. Nelson-Le Gall, 'Addressing the Continuities and Discontinuities Between Family and School For Ethnic Minority Children', in F. Rivera-Batiz (ed.), *Reinventing Urban Education: Multiculturalism and the Social Context of Schooling* (New York, 1994), pp. 183–207, C. Stone and G. Wehlage, 'Social Capital, Community Collaboration, and the Restructuring of Schools' in Batiz, *Reinventing Urban Education*, pp. 103–134 and Schulbesuch und Schulererfolg ausländischer Schüler an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen der Stadt Bremen, June 1981.

⁶⁸⁴ Schulbesuch und Schulererfolg ausländischer Schüler an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen der Stadt Bremen, June 1981, p. 186.

this link.⁶⁸⁵ Gang and Zimmermann's 2000 study, however, concluded that this has not historically been the case in Germany.⁶⁸⁶

Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that Bremen's immigrant community was an exception to this nationwide pattern as the 1981 statistical report stresses that the vast majority of the city's second-generation immigrants had either been born there or had arrived at a very young age. These children either spoke German as their mother-tongue or to a very high level and a large proportion of them had never known any other education system.⁶⁸⁷ It is, therefore, difficult to comprehend why, on the whole, Bremen's industrial society would be foreign to them or why they would be disadvantaged as a result. Additionally, it is in this sector that Bremen's renowned sense of regional identity and independence played an increased role.⁶⁸⁸ The stated role behind the government pamphlet of April 1977 was to promote the incorporation of immigrant pupils into the city's schools without risking the cultural independence of Bremen.⁶⁸⁹

As was the case in Newcastle, such an initiative was undoubtedly the result of the vast increase in the number of immigrant pupils enrolled in the city's schools. In 1965, there were 5,300 schoolchildren in Bremen, a figure that, by 1970, had increased by more than four times.⁶⁹⁰ An even larger increase was witnessed between 1970 and 1975 when immigrant pupils went from constituting 1.2% of the city's pupils to 4.7%.⁶⁹¹ The 1981 report cites two reasons for why this increase took place. Firstly, as was the case across the whole of Germany, Bremen's immigrant community, especially those of Turkish origin, had a much higher birth rate than the indigenous population.⁶⁹² Secondly, the 1974

⁶⁸⁵ See B. Chiswick, 'Differences in Education and Earnings Across Racial and Ethnic Groups: Tastes, Discrimination, and Investments in Child Quality', *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 103 (1988), pp. 571-597, G. Borjas, 'Ethnic Capital and Intergenerational Mobility', *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107 (1992), pp. 123-150 and A. Beller and S. Chung, 'Family Structure and Educational Attainment of Children', *Journal of Population Economics* 5 (1992), pp. 39-59.

⁶⁸⁶ Gang and Zimmermann, 'Is Child Like Parent?'.

⁶⁸⁷ Schulbesuch und Schulerfolg ausländischer Schüler an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen der Stadt Bremen, June 1981, p. 186.

⁶⁸⁸ See Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen' and Buse, 'Urban and National Identity'.

⁶⁸⁹ Antwort des Senats zur kleinen Anfrage der Fraktion der FDP vom 1. März 1977 (Drs. 9/455) – Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, 25 April 1977, p. 1.

⁶⁹⁰ Schulbesuch und Schulerfolg ausländische Schüler, April 1978, p. 99.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., p. 101.

⁶⁹² See Schulbesuch und Schulerfolg ausländische Schüler, April 1978, p. 101, Bodenbender, *Zwischenbilanz der Ausländerpolitik*, Wilpert, 'Children of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany', p. 474, Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', p. 356, *SOPEMI* –

change in the Kindergeldregelung (The Money for Children Regulation) made it so that money was only paid out for those children living in West Germany. As a consequence, many immigrant families were encouraged to send for their children from Turkey.⁶⁹³ Furthermore, there was also a problem concerning the academic achievements of Turkish schoolchildren in Bremen due to the fact that, during the early 1970s, two-thirds of them left school without any qualifications.⁶⁹⁴ This trait was, by no means, particular to Bremen.⁶⁹⁵

Due to this increase in the number of immigrant schoolchildren, Bremen's local authority introduced a series of measures during the 1970s that were to cater for their education. As will be seen, Bremen's approach differed vastly from those of other major German cities. The two most renowned approaches towards the education of ethnic minority children were those witnessed in Bavaria and Berlin. Bavaria's 1970's model assumed that immigrant families were only to be in Germany temporarily and Berlin's approach strove for a quick integration assuming their permanent settlement. Bavaria concentrated primarily on mother-tongue teaching and immigrants followed the same curriculum as their German peers, but were taught in separate classrooms and in their native language, so as to prepare immigrant pupils for the eventual return to Turkey. They learnt German as their first foreign language. According to many scholars, this approach has meant that, more often than not, immigrants have been unsuccessful in acquiring the necessary educational qualifications for a successful career in Germany due

Continuous Reporting System on Migration (Paris, 1977), Bundestagsausschuss für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *WSI – Mitteilungen* (Bonn, 1978) and Federal Labour Statistics (Nuremberg, 1976), p. 97.

⁶⁹³ See Schulbesuch und Schulerfolg ausländische Schüler, April 1978, p. 101, Wilpert, 'Children of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany', p. 475 and Mitteilung des deutschen Städtetages, *Ausländer* (March 1976), p. 73.

⁶⁹⁴ Schulbesuch und Schulerfolg ausländische Schüler, April 1978, p. 100.

⁶⁹⁵ See Alba, Handl and Müller, 'Ethnische Ungleichheit im deutschen Bildungssystem', Dinkel, Luy and Lebok, 'Die Bildungsbeteiligung deutscher und ausländischer Jugendlicher in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', Kristen, 'Hauptschule, Realschule oder Gymnasium?', Stanat, 'Schulleistungen von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund', Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration über die Lage der Ausländerinnen und Ausländer in Deutschland*, S. Hornberg, 'Multikulturelle Schülerschaft in der neuen Bundesrepublik', in H. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Jahrbuch der Schulenentwicklung – Daten, Beispiele und Perspektiven* (Weinheim, 1992), pp. 227-250 and K. Klemm, 'Bildung', in W. Ludwig-Mayerhofer (ed.), *Soziologie des Sozialstaats – Gesellschaftliche Grundlagen, historische Zusammenhänge und aktuelle Entwicklungstendenzen* (Weinheim, 2000), pp. 145-165.

to poor German language skills.⁶⁹⁶

Berlin, to the contrary, focused on ensuring that all immigrant pupils became acquainted with both the German language and culture by placing them in mainstream schools alongside their German counterparts as soon as their German language skills allowed.⁶⁹⁷ They learnt German in classrooms with other immigrant children of all nationalities and ages. However, not only has this submersion approach been widely criticised, but the scheme's additional shortcoming was the rule that no class with German students in it should be more than 30% immigrant. However, in many schools, the number of immigrant pupils could not be limited due to the fact that they catered for areas with a large ethnic minority population. In these cases, in order to ensure that the education of the German schoolchildren was not jeopardised, Berlin's local authority developed a new type of class in which all students were of immigrant origin. There is no doubt that, although the original intention was one of quick integration, what resulted was segregation.⁶⁹⁸

Bremen's approach towards the education of immigrant pupils during the late 1970s was a mixture of Bavaria and Berlin's. In the 1977 Bremische Bürgerschaft Drucksache, Bremen's local authority explicitly explained that the city's immigrant

⁶⁹⁶ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany', pp. 245-251, Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Das Kultusministerium weist Angriffe auf das bayerische Modell zur schulischen Betreuung der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer zurück', Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, *Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer* (1977), G. Mahler, 'Das bayerische Schulmodell in der Diskussion', *Innere Mission* (1974), pp. 473-481, G. Mahler, 'Das bayerische Modell – Vorbild einer ländereinheitlichen Regelung', *Schul Report* 4 (1976), Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 206-222, Harant, 'Schulprobleme von Gastarbeiter Kindern', p. 159, D. Freiberg and M. Hohmann, 'Die Schulsituation ausländischer Kinder: Schulpflicht und Schulrecht', in M. Hohmann (ed.), *Unterricht mit ausländischen Kindern* (Düsseldorf, 1976), pp. 11-25, G. Minzlaff, 'Weg in die Isolation? Zur Schulsituation von Kindern ausländischer Arbeitnehmer', *Forum Europa* 1 (1976), pp. 15-19 and J. Smolicz, 'The Mono-Ethnic Tradition and the Education of Minority Youth in West Germany from an Australian Multicultural Perspective', *Comparative Education* 26 (1990), pp. 27-43.

⁶⁹⁷ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany', pp. 251-263, Berlin Senator für Schulwesen, *Ausführungsvorschriften über den Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer und für Jugendliche ausländischer Arbeitnehmer* (Berlin, 1971), Berlin Senator für Schulwesen, *Das Schuljahr 1976-1977 in Zahlen* (Berlin, 1976), Ferber and Mueller, 'Probleme einer gemeinsamen Erziehung deutscher und ausländischer Vorschulkinder', Jancke, 'Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin', H. Köhler, *Daten zur Situation der Hauptschulen in Berlin (West)* (Berlin, 1976), W. Rasch, 'Ausländische Schüler in Berlin', *Frankfurter Rundschau* (11 April 1976), Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 233-244, J. Wilhemi, 'Analphabeten in zwei Sprachen', *Frankfurter Rundschau* (10 April 1976) and McLaughlin and Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany', pp. 244-245.

⁶⁹⁸ See C. Pfaff, 'Turkish in Contact With German: Language Maintenance and Loss Among Immigrant Children in Berlin (West)', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 90 (1991), p. 100 and Beck, 'Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany', p. 7.

pupils were to be prepared for both a stay in Germany and a return to the homeland. Unlike Newcastle City Council who exchanged an assimilationist model of education circa fifteen years after its introduction for a multicultural one, Bremen's local authority attempted to abide by the principles behind both approaches. This can be seen in the eight measures documented in the April 1977 pamphlet.

The first measure was the opening of a number of after-school care centres for immigrant pupils in the East and West Ends of the city where they attended school in substantial numbers. These centres were to act as places where ethnic minority pupils could receive help with their school work, take part in recreational activities and have the opportunity to interact with German children of a similar age.⁶⁹⁹ Secondly, plans were drawn up for how these centres were to be advertised. Leaflets were to be distributed in a variety of languages amongst places into which it was thought the immigrant community would venture, such as advice centres and social service buildings. Furthermore, the forms with which the parents registered their children for the centres were to be issued in the mother tongue, and it was stressed how these centres would have a positive impact on their children's German language skills. It was believed that this emphasis would convince parents that their children should attend.⁷⁰⁰

The third measure involved the hiring of additional personnel. It was thought that a greater number of teachers would allow the children to be divided into smaller groups according to their levels of German, allowing for their individual needs to be met. It was also decided that all five year-old immigrant children would be allowed to attend these centres free of charge.⁷⁰¹ There was no mention of why children of the age of five were chosen to be exempt from the regular cost. However, it can be assumed that Bremen's local authority believed that it was at this age at which immigrant children were still young enough to learn German at a fast pace and become either highly competent or fluent in it.

Fourthly, it was deemed necessary for the parents of the immigrant children to become involved in the centres' activities whenever possible. It was thought that this

⁶⁹⁹ Antwort des Senats zur kleinen Anfrage der Fraktion der FDP vom 1. März 1977 (Drs. 9/455) – Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, 25 April 1977, p. 2.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., p. 2.

measure would assist those children who would eventually return to the homeland, as it would mean that ethnic minority children would become integrated into the centres' communities whilst still adhering to their parents' traditions and beliefs. Furthermore, a greater emphasis was to be placed on religion, culture and language so as to raise awareness of differing ways of life. In order for this to be implemented successfully, additional workers of an immigrant background who spoke German were to be hired. It was thought that workers of such social cohesion would act as excellent role models. These workers were to be introduced in the centres of Gröpelingen, Hemelingen and Blumenthal where a large proportion of the city's Muslim immigrant population lived.⁷⁰²

The fifth aim of this report was to provide for those educational needs of immigrant children that were not being met within their respective schools. Some schools in Bremen did have preparation classes (Vorbereitungsklassen), a measure that was quickly discarded in Newcastle during the late 1960s due to the belief that they would promote segregation.⁷⁰³ Information provided concerning these preparation classes is scarce.⁷⁰⁴ However, the fact that less than 15% of all immigrant pupils in the state of Bremen attended classes of this type and that they were offered in only 11 primary schools, 3 secondary schools and 2 vocational schools implies that it was not a state-run initiative, but rather a scheme that could be introduced if and when deemed necessary.⁷⁰⁵ The document highlighted the fact that the individual educational needs were not being met, even of those students who attended these preparation classes. Although at the time no definite steps or measures were taken, the report did stress the need to address this issue and planned to tackle in the after-school care centres what should have been, but was not, addressed in schools.⁷⁰⁶

The sixth initiative addressed the need to involve the city's youth centres in the

⁷⁰² Ibid., p. 2.

⁷⁰³ Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 3. See also Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany' and H. Muller, *Ausländerkinder in deutschen Schulen* (Stuttgart, 1974).

⁷⁰⁴ See D. Hopf, 'The Children of Aliens in West German Schools: Situation and Problems', in C. Fried (ed.), *Minorities: Community and Identity* (Berlin, 1983), U. Neumann, *Erziehung ausländischer Kinder. Erziehungsziele und Bildungsvorstellungen in türkischen Arbeiterfamilien* (Düsseldorf, 1980), H. Esser, 'Familienmigration und Schulkarriere ausländischer Kinder und Jugendlicher', in J. Friedrichs (ed.), *Generation und Identität – Theoretische und empirische Beiträge zur Migrationssoziologie* (Opladen, 1990), pp. 127-146 and G. Mahler, *Zweitsprache Deutsch* (Donauwörth, 1974).

⁷⁰⁵ Antwort des Senats zur kleinen Anfrage der Fraktion der FDP vom 1. März 1977 (Drs. 9/455) – Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, 25 April 1977, p. 3.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

integration and education of immigrant schoolchildren. The aim of this measure was to specifically help immigrant youths of a Turkish background whose integration was problematic compared to their European immigrant counterparts. For the most part, they were concentrated in the areas of Steintor, Gröpelingen, Hemelingen and Vegesack, which made their integration even more difficult.⁷⁰⁷ It was a result of this that Bremen's local authority devised a plan for the youth centre in Steintor. This centre had the highest number of registered Turkish youths with a total of 50 between the ages of 8 and 14 and 200 between the ages of 15 and 18. It was decided that three university students were to complete their work experience at the youth centre. The aim was that, once their work experience had been completed, they would be offered full-time employment at the centre. Some of these young youth centre employees were to be sent to a teacher training college in Turkey where they would learn more about the Turkish culture, language and ethnicity. Once returning to Bremen, they would be expected to implement what they had learnt through the organisation of activities and workshops with Turkish youths that would promote their integration into their adopted society.⁷⁰⁸

The seventh measure mentioned in the report had already been introduced in 1975, two years before its compilation. It consisted of providing help for immigrant schoolchildren, as well as for German pupils, with their school homework. This step was taken by the Workers' Welfare Association (Arbeiterwohlfahrt) in conjunction with the Education Secretary (Senator für Bildung). This help was to be provided in Bremen's after-school care centres and hoped to be made available to more of the city's immigrant youths. The manner in which this was to be achieved had not yet been decided.⁷⁰⁹

The eighth and final measure cited in the April 1977 report consisted of promoting mother-tongue teaching. In Bremen, it was historically the responsibility of the immigrants' countries of origin to fund and provide mother-tongue teaching. However, Bremen's school administration tended to assist by providing classrooms free of charge and by helping with the organisation of the classes. Traditionally, these classes took place after schools and on Saturday mornings. It was thought, however, that this schedule placed additional stress on immigrant pupils who, having attended their regular

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

classes at school throughout the day, had to then participate in these mother-tongue classes. Consequently, it was decided that there would be an attempt to incorporate these language classes into some of the city's schools so that immigrant pupils could attend them during their regular school schedules.⁷¹⁰

Bremen was by no means the only German city to introduce a middle of the road approach. The city of Krefeld introduced what has often been referred to as the "Krefeld Model". This scheme established that from the age of six, immigrant children were to attend mathematics, art and music classes alongside their German counterparts. Initially, the two groups were separated, but were eventually merged.⁷¹¹ The state of Northrhine Westfalia introduced a similar scheme in which immigrant children were to be put together with German children for art, music and sports and separated for the more academic subjects.⁷¹² Other areas, such as Lower Saxony and Baden-Württemberg, introduced approaches that would promote the immigrant pupils' mother tongue, whilst also ensuring that they had regular contact with their German counterparts.⁷¹³

When comparing the 1970s' approaches taken by Newcastle and Bremen's local authorities, the extent that Britain's centralised government and Germany's federal government had on these measures quickly becomes apparent. As has been discussed, Newcastle's policies throughout the 1970s and 1980s merely reinforced ideas that were being voiced at a national level. To the contrary, the measures implemented in Bremen during the late 1970s were introduced by the local government for the benefit of a local Muslim immigrant community and, in some cases, differed vastly from those enforced in other German cities and states. A number of differences can be found when comparing Bremen's approach to that of Newcastle. Firstly, as previously mentioned, Bremen's local authority did not address the educational situation of the city's immigrants until the late 1970s, about ten years after Newcastle. This was undoubtedly a result of the fact that local governments across Germany were uncertain about the future of their immigrant

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷¹¹ See McLaughlin and Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany', pp. 247-248, A. Beerman, 'Das Krefelder Modell', *Ausländerkinder* 9 (1982), pp. 12-25 and K. Dickoff, *Erziehung ausländischer Kinder als pädagogische Herausforderung: Das Krefelder Modell* (Düsseldorf, 1982).

⁷¹² See Beck, 'Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany', p. 8 and Röhr-Sendlmeier, 'Die Bildungspolitik zum Unterricht für ausländische Kinder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', p. 58.

⁷¹³ See McLaughlin and Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany', p. 248.

communities due to the nature of the guest-worker rotation system.⁷¹⁴

One key difference between the two cities is the fact that, whilst schools in Newcastle deemed it preferable for all problems and obstacles to be tackled within the respective schools, this appears to have been done externally in Bremen.⁷¹⁵ The mid to late 1960s in Newcastle witnessed headmasters and local government organisations battling for the right to address issues, such as language learning, within the schools. The 1970s in Bremen, to the contrary, saw the local authority establishing after-school centres in order to accommodate for what would appear to have been the city's schools' shortcomings. Again, this difference could have been the result of the two countries' respective immigration histories. There is little doubt that the process of educating immigrant children in Bremen was surrounded by many more uncertainties than that of Newcastle as schools and the local government could not be sure whether it should prepare these pupils for a future in Germany or a return to the homeland. It is probable that it was deemed impossible for both these objectives to be fulfilled in the city's schools simultaneously. This can be seen in the fact that many of the measures suggested in the April 1977 report, such as the involvement of youth centres and parents, could not have been successfully implemented within mainstream classrooms.⁷¹⁶

There are, however, some similarities between Bremen and Newcastle's approaches. Both local authorities promoted the teaching of mother-tongue languages, recognised the need to attempt to increase the number of ethnic minority staff within the

⁷¹⁴ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', p. 358, Council of Europe, *Ad Hoc Conference on the Education of Migrants*, Hill, 'Democratic Education in West Germany', Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 193-196, Conference of Ministers of Culture and Education of the Federal Republic of Germany, *Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*, Conference of Ministers of Culture and Education of the Federal Republic of Germany, *Neufassung der Empfehlung Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*, Jancke, 'Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin', Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Die Brücke zur Heimat nicht abbrechen', Ferber and Müller, 'Probleme einer gemeinsamen Erziehung deutscher und ausländischer Vorschulkinder' and German Tribune, *Foreign Children in Frankfurt too Long in Separate Classes*.

⁷¹⁴ See D. Freiberg and Hohmann, 'Die schulische Situation ausländischer Kinder', Harant, 'Schulprobleme von Gastarbeiterkinder', p. 164 and Deutscher Caritasverband, *Die verlorene Generation?* (Freiburg, 1975).

⁷¹⁴ Rist, 'On the Education of Guest-worker Children in Germany', p. 362.

⁷¹⁵ See Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149 and Antwort des Senats zur kleinen Anfrage der Fraktion der FDP vom 1. März 1977 (Drs. 9/455) – Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, 25 April 1977.

⁷¹⁶ See Antwort des Senats zur kleinen Anfrage der Fraktion der FDP vom 1. März 1977 (Drs. 9/455) – Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, 25 April 1977.

education sector and made provisions to raise an awareness of multiculturalism in an attempt to combat racism and prejudice. The difference is that, in Newcastle, these measures were taken as a result of the pressures applied on local authorities following the emergence of the recommendations provided by the Swann Committee whilst, in Bremen, they came about merely as a consequence of the uncertainty concerning the future of the local immigrant community.

The Education of Muslim Immigrant Children and Youths in Bremen: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation – Taking the *Gast* out of *Gastarbeiter*.

Despite the introduction of the 1977 policies and measures discussed in the previous section, Bremen's local government was still concerned that not enough assistance was being offered to the education of immigrant pupils. Already by September 1980, additional measures were drawn up in the *Bremische Bürgerschaft Drucksache* (Pamphlets of the City Parliament of Bremen).⁷¹⁷ As was the case throughout Germany, there had again been a large increase in the number of immigrant pupils during the late 1970s, which prompted the decision that additional steps needed to be taken.⁷¹⁸ Between December 1978 and January 1980, this figure had risen by 22.1%.⁷¹⁹ Furthermore, concern was raised over the fact that a large proportion of this increase was comprised of Turkish school pupils, and, by January 1980, Turkish children constituted 74.2% of all immigrant children enrolled in schools in Bremen.⁷²⁰ Bremen's local authority expressed much concern about educating and incorporating these Turkish children into the local school system, thus adhering to the established historiography.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁷ Drucksachen Band 2 10/251–10/450 June 1980–March 1981, *Bremische Bürgerschaft Landtag* 10. Wahlperiode, Drucksache 10/300, Mitteilung des Senats. Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, *Bremische Bürgerschaft Bibliothek*.

⁷¹⁸ See H. Weiss and J. Trebbe, *Mediennutzung und Integration der türkischen Bevölkerung in Deutschland. Ergebnisse einer Umfrage des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung* (Potsdam, 2001) and B. Trautner, 'Türkische Muslime, islamische Organisationen und religiöse Institutionen als soziale Träger des transstaatlichen Raumes Deutschland-Türkei', in T. Faist (ed.), *Transstaatliche Räume. Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur in und zwischen Deutschland und der Türkei* (Bielefeld, 2000), pp. 57-86.

⁷¹⁹ Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, p. 5.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷²¹ See I. and Zimmermann, 'Is Child Like Parent?', Nelson-Le Gall, 'Addressing the Continuities and Discontinuities Between Family and School For Ethnic Minority Children', Stone and Wehlage, 'Social

The September 1980 pamphlet did not, however, merely involve the introduction of a series of new measures; rather it witnessed a change in approach by Bremen's local authority. It was at this point that it was decided that immigrant pupils were no longer to be prepared for a return to the homeland, but only for long-term residency in Germany.⁷²² From this point onwards, there was to be no difference in the manner in which immigrant children and German children were taught and, furthermore, an immediate stop was to be put to mother-tongue teaching. It was stressed, however, that the integration of immigrant youth should by no means result in the loss of their identity. Additionally, contrary to the 1977 initiatives, this integration was to take place in schools, not in after-school centres through the running of youth centres or special language classes.⁷²³

As a result of this change in policy, Bremen's Secretary of Education suggested implementing a dispersal policy very similar to that witnessed in Berlin during the 1970s and that suggested by Britain's 1965 Ministry of Education and Science manual entitled *The Education of Immigrants*.⁷²⁴ In Britain, the policy stated that the number of immigrant pupils in either one school or classroom should not exceed one third of the total number of students. In Bremen, however, as in Berlin, the figure suggested was 20%.⁷²⁵ As previously discussed, Newcastle did not have any schools that approached the one-third limit.⁷²⁶ Bremen, on the contrary, with a much lower threshold of 20%, had a number of schools that substantially exceeded this limit. In the school year of 1979/1980, there were certain classes in the Kirchenallee, Schmidtstraße and Halmerweg schools that

Capital, Community Collaboration, and the Restructuring of Schools', Chiswick, 'Differences in Education and Earnings Across Racial and Ethnic Groups', Borjas, 'Ethnic Capital and Intergenerational Mobility', Beller and Chung, 'Family Structure and Educational Attainment of Children' and Schulbesuch und Schulererfolg ausländischer Schüler an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen der Stadt Bremen, June 1981.

⁷²² See Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany', Mahler, *Zweitsprache Deutsch*, Willke, 'Schooling of Immigrant Children in West Germany, Sweden, England' and Conference of Ministers of Culture and Education, *Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*.

⁷²³ Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, p. 11.

⁷²⁴ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany', pp. 251-263, Berlin Senator für Schulwesen, *Ausführungsvorschriften über den Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer und für Jugendliche ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*, Berlin Senator für Schulwesen, *Das Schuljahr 1976-1977 in Zahlen*, Ferber and Mueller, 'Probleme einer gemeinsamen Erziehung deutscher und ausländischer Vorschulkinder', Jancke, 'Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin', Rasch, 'Ausländische Schüler in Berlin', Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 233-244, Wilhemi, 'Analphabeten in zwei Sprachen', McLaughlin and Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany', pp. 244-245, Pfaff, 'Turkish in Contact With German' and Beck, 'Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany', p. 7.

⁷²⁵ Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, p. 7.

⁷²⁶ Immigrant Pupils in Schools, 5 December 1967, MD.NC/149, p. 1.

were 83%, 55% and 31% immigrant respectively. In total, there were 344 individual classes, constituting 17.9% of all classes in the city, which were 20% or more immigrant.⁷²⁷

Despite the fact that many schools and classrooms in Bremen were over 20% immigrant, because so many of them fell under this category, the suggested dispersal policy was deemed impractical. Instead, other measures were introduced that were seen as feasible substitutes for promoting integration. It was believed that, in some cases, immigrant children were not becoming integrated into their adopted society because they were not attending school despite being of school age. This was a characteristic pertaining to the Turkish immigrant community across Germany and has historically been the result of the decreased value given to education by this community in favour of capital gain and the belief that their stay in Germany would only be for the short-term.⁷²⁸ The 1980 pamphlet states that it was its obligation to guarantee the city's immigrant children a good education and not deem them as being of a lesser importance than indigenous pupils.⁷²⁹ On 1 January 1980, there were 5,573 immigrant children of school age registered with the city's local residents' registration offices. However, in the 1979/1980 school year, only 5,473 immigrant children were enrolled in school meaning that 1.8% were not accounted for. Furthermore, there were most probably a substantial number of immigrant families who had not registered with a local residents' registration office meaning that this figure was certainly, in reality, much higher.⁷³⁰

The families of all children in Bremen tended to receive a notification informing them of compulsory education and offering them advice about local schools. The 1979/1980 school year, however, was the first time in which this information leaflet was distributed to immigrant families in their mother-tongue languages. Although the children themselves were to focus solely on the German language from this point onwards, Bremen's local authority realised that the first generation could not be

⁷²⁷ Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, p. 8.

⁷²⁸ See Von Below, 'What are the Chances of Young Turks and Italians for Equal Education and Employment in Germany?', pp. 212-213, P. Bourdieu, 'Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital', in R. Kreckel (ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten. Sonderband 2 der Sozialen Welt* (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 183-198 and K. Speiss, F. Büchel and G. Wagner, 'Children's School Placement in Germany: Does Kindergarten Attendance Matter?', *IZA Discussion Papers* 722 (Bonn, 2003).

⁷²⁹ Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, p. 11.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

approached in the same manner, as German was not spoken amongst a large percentage of them.⁷³¹ Furthermore, it was decided that more could be done to increase the number of immigrant children attending schools through parents. In the 1980 pamphlet, a measure was introduced according to which when an immigrant parent visited the job centre in order to make an application to receive child benefits for a child of compulsory school age, these benefits could not be claimed if the parent did not show confirmation that the child was attending school on a regular basis.⁷³²

Furthermore, once it had been proven that an immigrant child had been attending compulsory school education for five years, that child was granted a residence permit granting them residence in West Germany for an indefinite period of time.⁷³³ These measures mark a clear contrast with the situation in Newcastle and Britain as a whole where, although the historical literature repeatedly depicts discrimination, language problems and poor government responses, there has never been widespread poor attendance at a compulsory school age caused by either an uncertain future in Britain or the preference to earn income.⁷³⁴ This has, once again, undoubtedly been the result of Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy versus Germany's guest-worker rotation system.⁷³⁵

It was not long before the positive effects of this policy became apparent amongst Bremen's vocational schools. It is unclear why this document addresses only the situation in vocational schools. After all, in the state of Bremen, there is no obligation to

⁷³¹ See Gang and Zimmermann, 'Is Child Like Parent?',

⁷³² Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, p. 13.

⁷³³ Ibid., p. 13.

⁷³⁴ See Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children*, Halsey, *Educational Priority Vol 1: EPA Problems and Policies*, Levine and McLeod, 'Children From Families of Overseas Origin', Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford', Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 158-206, McNeal, 'Education', Arshad, Almeida, Kelly, O'Hara, Sharp and Syed, *Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland* and Gillborn, 'Education Policy as an Act of White Supremacy'.

⁷³⁵ For Britain see Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, Karatani, *Defining British Citizenship*, Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-State*, Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, Macdonald and Blake, *Immigration Law and Practice in the United Kingdom*, Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State* and Favell, *Philosophies of Integration*. For Germany see Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, Stirn, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Bade *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?*, Schöneberg, *Gestern Gastarbeiter, morgen Minderheit*, Barbieri Jr., *Ethnics of Citizenship*, Heckmann, *Die Bundesrepublik-ein Einwanderungsland?*, Green, *The Politics of Exclusion* and Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*.

send children to school after the ten-year compulsory schooling period. On the other hand, however, it is perhaps understandable that immigrant youths should be encouraged to attend vocational schools. The historiography dictates that immigrant youths in Germany are less likely to leave school with the Abitur, an exit exam that is necessary to attend university.⁷³⁶ Faist stresses the importance of the apprenticeship system for all youths who do not intend to attend university.⁷³⁷ Therefore, it would seem sensible for Bremen's local government to have promoted the attendance of immigrant youths in the city's vocational schools.

In the 1978/1979 school year, only an estimated 65% of immigrant children who should have been attending vocational schools throughout the city were actually doing so. Already by the 1979/1980 school year, however, this figure had risen to 80%.⁷³⁸ There is little doubt that this improvement was the result of the child benefit scheme. Bremen's local authority suggested two reasons for which the remaining 20% still were not attending. Firstly, because the information leaflets for vocational schools had not yet been distributed in mother-tongue languages, many immigrant families were still not aware of the obligation to send their children. Secondly, some of the immigrant youths who had left school and opted to attend a vocational school were working at the same time and did not want to take time off work and risk losing their employment.⁷³⁹ Bremen's local government believed that this situation could be rectified by ensuring that the immigrant community was adequately informed by altering the system so that a qualification from a vocational school would guarantee permanent employment upon finishing. The details of these measures and how they were to be implemented had not yet been established.⁷⁴⁰

Now that Bremen's local authority had opted solely for the integrationist model

⁷³⁶ See Gang and Zimmermann, 'Is Child Like Parent?', p. 553 and Wilpert, 'Children of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany', p. 475.

⁷³⁷ Faist, 'From School to Work', p. 308.

⁷³⁸ Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, p. 13.

⁷³⁹ See Von Below, 'What are the Chances of Young Turks and Italians for Equal Education and Employment in Germany?', Bourdieu, 'Ökonomisches Kapital', Speiss, Büchel and Wagner, 'Children's School Placement in Germany', Geiersbach, *Bruder, Musszusammen Zwiebel und Wasser Essen*, Korte, 'Die Rückkehrorientierung im Eingliederungsprozess der Migrantenfamilien', Schiffauer, *Die Migranten aus Subay*, Seifert, 'Zunehmende Arbeitsmarktintegration bei anhaltender sozialer Segregation' and Alamdar-Niemanns, Bergs-Winkels and Merckens, 'Educational Conditions of Turkish Migrant Children in German Schools'.

⁷⁴⁰ Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, p. 14.

of education, more discussion took place concerning the teaching of the German language. This September 1980 document stressed the importance of immigrant pupils not being separated from their indigenous counterparts in order to receive a “special” education. It was decided that these pupils would receive the assistance they needed within their respective classrooms by forming groups of between five and twelve and be given additional help with the German language from their regular teachers.⁷⁴¹ It was believed that this scheme would prevent any social segregation from occurring and would allow immigrant pupils to receive the assistance they needed whilst mixing with their indigenous counterparts. This was exactly the same conclusion that was reached by Newcastle’s School Sub-Committee and Racial Equality Sub-Committee in 1984.⁷⁴²

The last key concern expressed in the 1980 pamphlet was the type of schools that Bremen’s immigrant pupils were attending. Historically, there had been very few immigrant families who had sent their children to either Realschule (secondary school leading to intermediate qualification) or Gymnasium (grammar school). Instead, immigrant youths tended to become concentrated in the lower educational tracks (Hauptschule and Sonderschule). This pattern was not only prevalent in Bremen, but across Germany as a whole.⁷⁴³ Bremen’s local authority provided three reasons explaining why this was the case.

Firstly, it was probable that many immigrant pupils did not have the adequate communication and German language skills to succeed in the more prestigious types of schools. Secondly, a lack of information no doubt played a role in that immigrant parents were often not informed about the breakdown of the German school system and, therefore, did not know which types of schools were better than others. Thirdly, it was very common for immigrant parents to want their children to find employment once their

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁴² Mother-Tongue Teaching Report on the Schools Language Survey Conducted in Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools, Autumn, 1984, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁴³ See J. Baumert, U. Trautwein and C. Artelt, ‘Schulumwelten – institutionelle Bedingungen des Lehrens und Lernens’ in *Deutsches PISA-Konsortium. PISA 2000 – Ein differenzierter Blick auf die Länder der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Opladen, 2003), pp. 261-331, S. von Below, *Schulische Bildung, berufliche Ausbildung und Erwerbstätigkeit junger Migranten – Ergebnisse des Integrationssurveys des BiB. Materialien zur Bevölkerungswissenschaft 105b* (Wiesbaden, 2003), Doerschler, ‘Education and the Development of Turkish and Yugoslav Immigrants: Political Attitudes in Germany’, pp. 453-456, Alba, Handl and Müller, ‘Ethnic Inequalities in the German School System’ and Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats von Berlin, *Repräsentativumfrage zur Lebenssituation türkischer Berlinerinnen und Berliner* (Berlin, 2002).

compulsory education had been completed. In these cases, it is doubtful that attending a Realschule or Gymnasium was even a consideration.⁷⁴⁴

Bremen's local government was convinced, however, that the longer the immigrant community resided in Bremen, the less of a role these three reasons would play. It believed that the city's immigrant school pupils were already making progress due to the fact that more of them were attaining school-leaving qualifications. Between 1977 and 1979, this figure rose by 5.2% from 72.4% to 77.6%. It is with certainty that it can be stated that immigrant pupils were making progress rather than exams getting easier or teachers improving their methods of teaching because the statistic for German pupils remained constant at 91.4%.⁷⁴⁵ Indeed, some literature has concluded that, when addressing European immigrants, progress in the education sector is being made.⁷⁴⁶ However, Germany has witnessed increased discrepancies between Germans and Turks in the education sector. The historiography has, on the whole, asserted that this has been the result of ineffective policies and the inability to cope with the special educational needs of this ethnic minority group's children.⁷⁴⁷

There are unfortunately no subsequent archival documents concerning the situation in Bremen. However, when comparing Bremen's figures to those of other German cities, it appears as though, already during the late 1970s, Bremen's immigrants enjoyed increased educational success. Whilst 77.6% of immigrants in Bremen attained school-leaving qualifications in 1979, the 1975 figure for Berlin stood at only an estimated 30-40%.⁷⁴⁸ Furthermore, Bremen's 1979 figure of 77.6% was impressive compared to Rhineland-Pfalz's 1985 figure of 48% and Germany's 1990 figure of

⁷⁴⁴ Bericht über die Lage der schulpflichtigen Kinder von Ausländern, 1 September 1980, pp. 15-16.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

⁷⁴⁶ See Worbs, 'The Second Generation in Germany' and W. Seifert, 'Labour Market Performance of Mediterranean Immigrant in Germany and Hispanic Immigrants in the United States', in R. Münz and W. Seifert (eds.), *Inclusion or Exclusion: Europe and the US at the Crossroads* (Berlin, 1999), pp. 46-62.

⁷⁴⁷ See Doerschler, 'Education and the Development of Turkish and Yugoslav Immigrants: Political Attitudes in Germany', W. Hinrichs, *Ausländische Bevölkerungsgruppen in Deutschland: Integrationschancen 1985 und 2000* (Berlin, 2003), F. Behringer, 'Ausländerintegration und Bildungspolitik', *DIW-Wochenbericht* 61 (1994), pp. 33-38, Alba, Handl and Müller, 'Ethnic Inequalities in the German School System' and F. Kalter and N. Granato, *Recent Trends of Assimilation in Germany* (Mannheim, 2001).

⁷⁴⁸ See Smolicz, 'The Mono-Ethnic Tradition and the Education of Minority Youth in West Germany from an Australian Multicultural Perspective', p. 38, Jancke, 'Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin', Köhler, *Daten zur Situation der Hauptschulen in Berlin (West)* and Rasch, 'Ausländische Schüler in Berlin'.

51.2%.⁷⁴⁹

The factors discussed in the 1980 government pamphlet are an indication that Bremen faced similar difficulties with regard to the education of the Muslim immigrant community as other cities across Germany. As discussed in the established historiography, school attendance was often low amongst Turkish immigrants and, when they were enrolled in schools, it was often in the least prestigious.⁷⁵⁰ However, it appears as though Bremen's local authority's response to these issues was more constructive than those of other cities in that it demonstrated a knowledge of the local immigrant community and made an attempt to cater for its needs. From the offset, the Bavarian approach assumed that foreign workers were only in Germany on a short-term basis and, consequently, the schoolchildren were prepared for their return to Turkey. As a result, the majority of these youths left school without qualifications and with a poor knowledge of the German language.⁷⁵¹ Similarly, Berlin's approach aimed for quick integration and introduced a dispersal policy, both of which scholars argue hindered integration.⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁹ See Smolicz, 'The Mono-Ethnic Tradition and the Education of Minority Youth in West Germany from an Australian Multicultural Perspective', p. 38.

⁷⁵⁰ See M. Borelli, 'Interkulturelle Pädagogik: Positionen-Kontroversen-Perspektiven', *Interkulturelle Erziehung in Praxis und Theorie* 4 (1986), von Below, 'What are the Chances of Young Turks and Italians for Equal Education and Employment in Germany?', Bourdieu, 'Ökonomisches Kapital', Speiss, Büchel and Wagner, 'Children's School Placement in Germany', Geiersbach, *Bruder, Musszusammen Zwiebel und Wasser Essen*, Korte, 'Die Rückkehrorientierung im Eingliederungsprozess der Migrantenfamilien', Schiffauer, *Die Migranten aus Subay*, Seifert, 'Zunehmende Arbeitsmarktintegration bei anhaltender sozialer Segregation', Alamdar-Niemanns, Bergs-Winkels and Merkens, 'Educational Conditions of Turkish Migrant Children in German Schools' J. Baumert, U. Trautwein and C. Artelt, 'Schulumwelten-institutionelle Bedingungen des Lehrens und Lernens', von Below, *Schulische Bildung, berufliche Ausbildung und Erwerbstätigkeit junger Migranten*, Doerschler, 'Education and the Development of Turkish and Yugoslav Immigrants', pp. 453-456, Alba, Handl and Müller, 'Ethnic Inequalities in the German School System' and Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats von Berlin, *Repräsentativumfrage zur Lebenssituation türkischer Berlinerinnen und Berliner*.

⁷⁵¹ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany', pp. 245-251, Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Die Brücken zur Heimat nicht abbrechen', Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Das Kultusministerium weist Angriffe auf das bayerische Modell zur schulischen Betreuung der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer zurück', Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, *Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*, Mahler, 'Das Bayerische Modell-Vorbild einer ländereinheitlichen Regelung', Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 206-222, Harant, 'Schulprobleme von Gastarbeiterkindern', Freiberg and Hohmann, 'Die schulische Situation ausländischer Kinder: Schulpflicht und Schulrecht', Minzlaff, 'Weg in die Isolation?' and Smolicz, 'The Mono-Ethnic Tradition and the Education of Minority Youth in West Germany from an Australian Multicultural Perspective'.

⁷⁵² See Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany', pp. 251-263, Berlin Senator für Schulwesen, *Ausführungsvorschriften über den Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer und für Jugendliche ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*, Berlin Senator für Schulwesen, *Das Schuljahr 1976-1977 in Zahlen*, Ferber and Mueller, 'Probleme einer gemeinsamen Erziehung deutscher und ausländischer

Bremen's approach, however, catered for both a permanent residency in Germany and for a return to the homeland. Although one could argue that Bremen's local authority and those of other federal states that had decided upon a mixed approach were prepared for both outcomes, it must nevertheless be realised that the teaching of the German language, on the one hand, and the mother tongue instruction, on the other, had separate aims.⁷⁵³ The emphasis placed on both scenarios was the result of the confusion surrounding the future of immigrants that had arrived as part of the guest-worker rotation system.⁷⁵⁴ The result has been that second and third-generation immigrants are often caught between two worlds and, unlike their parents, do not have a reference group to refer to.⁷⁵⁵ It is this shift in aim that took place between the late 1970s and the early 1980s in Bremen that marks the key difference in policy with the situation in Newcastle, whose local authority may have primarily been echoing the national mandate dictated by Whitehall, but whether it was the assimilationist or the multiculturalist approach in question, permanent integration was nevertheless the overall aim.⁷⁵⁶

Vorschulkinder', Jancke, 'Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin', Köhler, *Daten zur Situation der Hauptschulen in Berlin (West)*, Rasch, 'Ausländische Schüler in Berlin', Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, pp. 233-244, Wilhemi, 'Analphabeten in zwei Sprachen', McLaughlin and Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany', pp. 244-248, Pfaff, 'Turkish in Contact With German' and Beck, 'Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany', p. 7.

⁷⁵³ See McLaughlin and Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany', pp. 247-248, Beerman, 'Das Krefelder Modell', Dickoff, *Erziehung ausländischer Kinder als pädagogische Herausforderung*, Beck, 'Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany', p. 8 and Röhr-Sendlmeier, 'Die Bildungspolitik zum Unterricht für ausländische Kinder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', p. 58.

⁷⁵⁴ See Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, Stirn, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?*, Schöneberg, *Gestern Gastarbeiter, morgen Minderheit* Barbieri Jr., *Ethnics of Citizenship*, Heckmann, *Die Bundesrepublik-ein Einwanderungsland?*, Green, *The Politics of Exclusion* and Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*.

⁷⁵⁵ See Y. Pazarkaya, 'Vom Kulturschock zur Diskriminierung? – Zum Situationswandel der Lebensbedingungen von Emigrantenfamilien in der Bundesrepublik', *Deutsch lernen* 5 (1980), pp. 3-26, McLaughlin and Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany', H. Esser, *Integration und ethnische Schichtung* (Mannheim, 2001), R. Kecskes, 'Soziale und identifikative Assimilation türkischer Jugendlicher', *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* 10 (2000), pp. 61-78 and B. Nauck, A. Kohlmann and H. Diefenbach, 'Familiäre Netzwerke, Intergenerative Transmission und Assimilationsprozesse bei türkischen Migrantenfamilien', *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 49 (1997), pp. 477-499.

⁷⁵⁶ See Bowker, *The Education of Coloured Immigrants*, Burgin and Edson, *Spring Grove*, Evans and Le Page, *The Education of West Indian Immigrant Children*, Derrick, *Teaching English to Immigrants*, Hawkes, *Immigrant Children in British Schools*, McEwen, Gipps and Sumner, *Language Proficiency in the Multi Racial Junior School*, Power, *Immigrants in School*, Stoddart and Stoddart, *Teaching of English to Immigrant Children*, Taylor, *Race, School and Community*, Townsend and Brittan, *Organization in Multiracial Schools*, Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children*, Bhatnagar, *Immigrants at Schools*, Goldman and Taylor, 'Coloured Immigrant Children', Black Peoples Progressive Association and Redbridge Community Relations Council, *Cause for Concern*, Silberman and Spice, *Colour and Class in*

The Education of Muslim Immigrant Children and Youths in Newcastle & Bremen: Conclusion.

As with the employment and housing sectors, there is little doubt that Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy and Germany's guest-worker rotation system have had a large impact on Muslim immigrants' educational experiences. Whether it has been the result of language needs and poor local government responses in Britain or the lack of apprenticeships and qualifications, and a concentration in lower education tracks in Germany, Muslim immigrants in both countries have not enjoyed the same educational success as their indigenous counterparts. The immigrant communities in both Newcastle and Bremen, however, appear to have performed better than the historiography suggests.⁷⁵⁷ The 1965 dispersal policy that played such a role in Ealing, Southall and Bradford was never introduced in Newcastle, and the consistent educational underachievement that was so widespread amongst immigrants in London, Birmingham and Bradford, never witnessed.⁷⁵⁸

Six Liverpool Schools, Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham*, Little, Mabey and Whitaker, 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools', Wrigley, *The Power to Learn* and Archer and Francis, *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement*.

⁷⁵⁷ For Britain see Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children*, Halsey, *Educational Priority Vol 1: EPA Problems and Policies*, Levine and McLeod, 'Children from Families of Overseas Origin', Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford', Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 158-206, McNeal, 'Education', Arshad, Almeida, Kelly, O'Hara, Sharp and Syed, *Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland*, Gillborn, 'Education Policy as an Act of White Supremacy', City of Bradford Educational Services Committee, *English as a Second Language For Five-Year Olds*, Creber, *Lost for Words*, Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, *The Space Between*, Derrick, *Teaching English to Immigrants*, Dodson, Price and Williams, *Towards Bilingualism*, Gaarder, 'Bilingualism and Education', National Association of Schoolmasters, *Education and the Immigrants*, Schools Council, *English for the Children of Immigrants*, Halsey, *Educational Priority Vol 1* and McNeal, 'Education'. For Germany see Alba, Handl and Müller, 'Ethnische Ungleichheit im deutschen Bildungssystem', Faist, 'Ein- und Ausgliederung von Immigranten', Faist, 'From School to Work', Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, 'Nach wie vor Rückstände in der Schul- und Berufsausbildung junger Ausländer', Zentrum für Türkeistudien, *Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Herrmann, 'Ausländische Jugendliche in Ausbildung und Beruf', Dinkel, Luy and Lebok, 'Die Bildungsbeteiligung deutscher und ausländischer Jugendlicher in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', Kristen, 'Hauptschule, Realschule oder Gymnasium?', Stanat, 'Schulleistungen von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund', Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration über die Lage der Ausländerinnen und Ausländer in Deutschland*, Söhn and Veysel, 'The Educational Attainment of Turkish Migrants in Germany' and Von Below, 'What are the Chances of Young Turks and Italians for Equal Education and Employment in Germany?'.

⁷⁵⁸ See Male, 'Multicultural Education and Education Policy', p. 293, See Miller, 'Race Relations and the Schools in Great Britain', p. 253, Kirp, 'The Vagaries of Discrimination', Little, 'The Educational

Similarly, Muslim immigrants in Bremen did not endure the detrimental consequences of the dispersal policy that was implemented in Berlin and have historically been more successful in attaining school-leaving qualifications than has been the case in other areas across Germany.⁷⁵⁹ The question arises as to whether this has been the result of integration. Regarding Newcastle, it appears as though, as proved to be the case in the employment and housing sectors, the Muslim immigrant community had benefited from belonging to a relatively small community. During the 1960s, Newcastle City Council did not introduce the dispersal policy, choosing instead for any issues to be addressed within the respective schools. However, it is essential to note that schools in Ealing, Southall and Bradford most probably did not have this option as, instead of having two schools that were circa 20% immigrant, they were home to a substantial number of schools and classrooms that were overwhelmingly comprised of ethnic minority pupils.⁷⁶⁰ Needless to say, such schools were unable to address any given problems internally. A similar approach was witnessed during the mid-1980s with the introduction of mother tongue languages as part of the multiculturalist educational curriculum. Unlike many British cities, Newcastle offered this language instruction within mainstream schools, an option many local authorities did not have. Again, this is an indication of her small, manageable immigrant community.⁷⁶¹

Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in London Schools', Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford', Little, 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools', Bagley, 'The Educational Performance of Immigrant Children', Saint, *Scholastic and Sociological Adjustment of the Punjabi Speaking Children in Smethwick*, Fitzherbert, *West Indian Children in London* and Taylor, *Caught Between*.

⁷⁵⁹ See Smolicz, 'The Mono-Ethnic Tradition and the Education of Minority Youth in West Germany from an Australian Multicultural Perspective', p. 38, Jancke, 'Zur Schulsituation der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in Berlin', Köhler, *Daten zur Situation der Hauptschulen in Berlin (West)*, Rasch, 'Ausländische Schüler in Berlin', Pfaff, 'Turkish in Contact With German' and Beck, 'Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany', p. 7.

⁷⁶⁰ Miller, 'Race Relations and the Schools in Great Britain', pp. 253-256, Kirp, 'The Vagaries of Discrimination', Joly, 'Ethnic Minorities and Education in Britain', Nielsen, 'A Survey of British Local Authority Response to Muslim Needs', Little, Mabey and Whitaker, 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools' and Rosen and Burgess, *Languages and Dialects of London Schoolchildren: An Investigation*.

⁷⁶¹ See Mother-Tongue Teaching Report on the Schools Language Survey Conducted in Newcastle-upon-Tyne Schools, 18 September 1985, MD.NC/162/2, Atkins, 'Minority Community Languages', pp. 66-67, Taft, 'The Social and Ideological Context of Multicultural Education in Immigrant Countries', Guitart, 'The Question of Language Loyalty', Edwards, *Language in a Black Community*, Tollefson, *Planning Language, Planning Inequality*, Nagra, 'Asian Supplementary Schools', Nagra *Asian Supplementary Schools and the Attitudes of Asian Children and Parents Towards the Teaching of the Mother-Tongue* and Homan, 'The Supplementary School: Development and Implications'.

Muslim immigrant youth in Bremen seem to have undoubtedly benefited from the fact that education policy is primarily dictated at a federal level. Hence, instead of being subjected to Bavaria or Berlin's uncompromising models, Bremen's immigrants were encouraged to prepare for both a permanent residency in Germany and a return to the homeland. This does not mean, however, that this middle road approach was without difficulties. On the contrary, the historiography has highlighted many downsides to this procedure.⁷⁶² Yet it cannot be denied that the measures introduced by Bremen's local authorities during the late 1970s and early 1980s demonstrated a clear in-depth understanding of a local Muslim immigrant community.

It would appear that the differences between Britain's centralised government and Germany's federal government, and whether education policy is dictated at either a national or federal level, does not automatically dictate a Muslim immigrant community's chance of integration within the education sector. Nor do Newcastle's and Bremen's strong regional identities whose existence historians so adamantly assert.⁷⁶³ Rather, as has historically been the case regarding the employment and housing sectors, it has been the conditions of Britain's relatively liberal immigration policy and Germany's guest-worker rotation system that have determined the educational success of second and third-generation immigrants. The former created a stable paradigm for educational integration, whilst the latter a sense of uncertainty and obscurity. It appears that the shadow of the suitcase not only fell on Southampton dockside and Frankfurt central station, but across fifty years and into the classrooms of contemporary Muslim immigrant schoolchildren.

⁷⁶² See Beck, 'Language Rights and Turkish Children in Germany', McLaughlin and Graf, 'Bilingual Education in West Germany', Beerman, 'Das Krefelder Modell', Dickoff, *Erziehung*, and Röhr-Sendlmeier, 'Die Bildungspolitik zum Unterricht für ausländische Kinder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland'.

⁷⁶³ For Newcastle see Todd, 'Black-on-Tyne' and Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?'. For Bremen see Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen', p. 5, Buse, 'Urban and National Identity'.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

There is little doubt that Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen have historically performed better in the employment, housing and education sectors than has been the case in other major British and German cities. In the employment sector, both Newcastle's Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants, and Bremen's Turkish immigrants have succeeded in attaining a long sought-after economic independence. In doing so, they have adhered to the patterns set not only by ethnic minorities in other British and German cities, but also by immigrant communities of all ethnicities throughout the Western world.⁷⁶⁴ This same desire for independence has also been witnessed in the performance of both cities' Muslim immigrant communities within the housing sector. In both cases, these ethnic minorities have demonstrated a preference for owner-occupancy and for living in predominantly immigrant neighbourhoods and, in doing so, have adhered to existing historical research.⁷⁶⁵ Furthermore, it has been a trait pertinent to both sectors that Muslim immigrants initially immersed themselves into the local labour market alongside their indigenous counterparts when necessary to acquire the financial capital to then grasp that much desired independence. This behaviour illustrates that their separation within the employment and housing sectors has been the result of a conscious choice, rather than of discrimination, a fact that much of the historical literature fails to recognise.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶⁴ See Aldrich, Cater, Jones and McEvoy, 'Business Development and Self-Segregation', Zimmer and Aldrich, 'Resource Mobilization Through Ethnic Networks', Boyes and Huneke, *Is it Easier to be a Turk in Berlin or a Pakistani in Bradford?*, Fertala, 'A Study of Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Upper Bavaria', Hillman, 'A Look at the "Hidden Side"' and Döse, 'Selbstständigkeit im Schnittpunkt neuer Bedingungen der Erwerbsarbeit'. For Canada see Mata and Pendakur, 'Immigration, Labor Force Integration and the Pursuit of Self-Employment' and Wong, 'Taiwanese Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Canada and Transnational Social Space'. For the US see Papademetriou, *The Effects of Immigration on the US Economy and Labor Market* and Bates, 'Financing Small Business Creation'. For Europe see Morokvasic, 'Roads to Independence' and Ceccagno, 'New Chinese Migrants in Italy'.

⁷⁶⁵ See Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities', Schultze, 'Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland auf dem Weg zur multikulturellen Gesellschaft?', Glebe, 'Housing and Segregation of Turks in Germany', Fried and Gleicher, 'Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction' and Friedrichs, 'Ethnic Segregation in Cologne, Germany, 1984-94'.

⁷⁶⁶ For Britain see Bell, 'The Performance of Immigrants in the United Kingdom', Chiswick, 'The Earnings of White and Coloured Male Immigrants in Britain', Rex and Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict*, Henderson, Karn and Brown, *Improving the Opportunities of Racial Minorities in Council Housing*, Parker and Dugmore, *Colour and the Allocation of GLC Housing*, Skellington, 'How Blacks Lose Out in Council Housing' and Dörr and Faist, 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States'.

Such an approach, however, has never been feasible regarding the education sector. It has been within schools that the effects of Britain's Commonwealth labour market and Germany's guest-worker rotation system have been felt the most. Muslim immigrants in both Newcastle and Bremen have often chosen coexistence alongside, rather than integration with, their indigenous counterparts that has taken the form of a small corner shop or a row of immigrant-owned Victorian or Edwardian terraced houses on a single street in Fenham. Such segregation, however, has not been possible within the education sector as immigrant children and adolescents in both cities have historically attended the same schools and completed the same curriculum. It is, therefore, perhaps this sector that provides the most definite conclusions, as it is the only area in which both cities' Muslim immigrants find themselves having to comply with their host societies' policies and regulations. Indeed, the performance of Muslim immigrants within the education sector can also be seen as representative of their overall experiences in both Newcastle and Bremen in that, on the whole, they have exceeded the standard dictated by the established historiography.⁷⁶⁷

For literature that recognises self-separation, see A. Shaw, 'Kinship, Cultural Preference and Immigration: Consanguineous Marriage among British Pakistanis', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7 (2001), pp. 315-334, C. Peach, 'Muslims in the 2001 Census of England and Wales: Gender and Economic Disadvantage', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29 (2006), pp. 629-655 and R. Ballard, 'Migration and Kinship: The Differential Effects of Marriage Rule on the Processes of Punjabi Migration to Britain', in C. Clarke, C. Peach and S. Vertovec (eds.), *South Asians Overseas: Migration and Ethnicity* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 219-249. For Germany see Granato and Kalter, 'Die Persistenz ethnischer Ungleichheit auf dem Deutschen Arbeitsmarkt', Münscher, 'The Workday Routines of Turkish Women in Federal Republic of Germany', Keßler and Ross, 'Ausländer auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einer Großstadt', Geiger, 'Ausländer im Ghetto', Ehrkamp, 'Placing Identities', Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, Meis, *Aspekte struktureller und differentieller Mobilität von Ausländern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation' and Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns'.

⁷⁶⁷ For Britain see Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children*, Halsey, *Educational Priority Vol 1*, Levine and McLeod, 'Children From Families of Overseas Origin', Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford', Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, pp. 158-206, McNeal, 'Education', Arshad, Almeida, Kelly, O'Hara, Sharp and Syed, *Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland*, Gillborn, 'Education Policy as an Act of White Supremacy', City of Bradford Educational Services Committee, *English as a Second Language For Five-Year Olds*, Creber, *Lost For Words*, Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, *The Space Between*, Derrick, *Teaching English to Immigrants*, Dodson, Price and Williams, *Towards Bilingualism*, Gaarder, 'Bilingualism and Education', National Association of Schoolmasters, *Education and the Immigrants*, Schools Council, *English for the Children of Immigrants*, Halsey, *Educational Priority Vol 1* and McNeal, 'Education'. For Germany see Alba, Handl and Müller, 'Ethnische Ungleichheit im deutschen Bildungssystem', Faist, 'Ein- und Ausgliederung von Immigranten', Faist, 'From School to Work', Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, 'Nach wie vor Rückstände in der Schul- und Berufsausbildung junger Ausländer', Zentrum für Türkeistudien, *Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Herrmann, 'Ausländische Jugendliche in Ausbildung und Beruf', Dinkel, Luy and Lebok, 'Die Bildungsbeteiligung deutscher und ausländischer Jugendlicher in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland',

It is difficult to assess why Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen have experienced more success in the employment, housing and education sectors than those in other British and German cities. After all, the majority of studies addressing the situation of Muslim immigrants in Britain and Germany's employment, housing and education sectors cite high rates of unemployment, a concentration in unskilled jobs, an exclusion from council housing and owner-occupancy, high levels of residential segregation, poor local government responses to outstanding language needs, a concentration in less prestigious schools and low attainment of apprenticeships and qualifications.⁷⁶⁸ One of Davies' respondents from his late 1960s survey may have suggested that Newcastle is home to a 'better type of immigrant',⁷⁶⁹ but this explanation remains doubtful due to the fact that, as has been established, Muslim immigrants in both Newcastle and Bremen have historically strictly adhered to traits witnessed amongst ethnic minority communities throughout the Western world.⁷⁷⁰ Similarly, it would appear that neither city's well-documented regional identity has played a role in moulding the immigrants' everyday experiences as, as has traditionally been the case in Newcastle and is increasingly so in Bremen. Instead, the Muslim immigrant community is succeeding through its own self-determination rather than as a result of institutionalised encouraged

Kristen, 'Hauptschule, Realschule oder Gymnasium?', Stanat, 'Schulleistungen von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund', Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration über die Lage der Ausländerinnen und Ausländer in Deutschland*, Söhn and Veysel, 'The Educational Attainment of Turkish Migrants in Germany' and Von Below, 'What are the Chances of Young Turks and Italians for Equal Education and Employment in Germany?'.

⁷⁶⁸ See Hepple, *Race, Jobs and the Law in Britain*, Smith, *Racial Disadvantage in Britain*, Desai, *Indian Immigrants in Britain*, Bayliss and Coates, 'West Indians at Work in Nottingham', Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, Castles, *Here for Good*, Wilpert, 'Work and the Second Generation', Limage, 'Economic Recession and Migrant/Minority Youth in Western Europe and the United States', Kemper, 'Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation', Waldorf, 'Housing Policy Impacts on Ethnic Segregation Patterns', Derrick, *Language Needs of Minority Group Children*, Halsey, *Educational Priority Vol 1*, Levine and McLeod, 'Children From Families of Overseas Origins', Peace, 'A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford', McNeal, 'Education', Arshad, Almeida, Kelly, O'Hara, Sharp and Syed, *Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland*, Gillborn, 'Education Policy as an Act of White Supremacy', Alba, Handl and Müller, 'Ethnic Inequalities in the German School System', Faist, 'Ein- und Ausgliederung von Immigranten', Faist, 'From School to Work', Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, 'Nach wie vor Rückstände in der Schul- und Berufsausbildung junger Ausländer', Zentrum für Türkeistudien, *Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* and Herrmann, 'Ausländische Jugendliche in Ausbildung und Beruf'.

⁷⁶⁹ Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, p. 36.

⁷⁷⁰ See Mata and Pendakur, 'Immigration, Labor Force Integration and the Pursuit of Self-Employment', Papademetriou, *The Effects of Immigration on the US Economy and Labor Market*, Morokvasic, 'Roads to Independence', Sørholt, 'Ethnic Minority Groups and Strategies in the Housing Market in Oslo' and Light, 'Immigrant Place Entrepreneurs in Los Angeles, 1970-99'.

integration.⁷⁷¹

There is little doubt that, regarding Newcastle, the small size of the ethnic minority community has played a large role in determining the typical daily experiences of any given Muslim immigrant. This has meant that ethnic minority businesses have yet to reach a saturation point and that attaining funds for such business ventures has almost always been feasible, that affordable housing in the West End has always been readily available for immigrants to purchase in the manner they chose and that schools have rarely had to introduce measures in an attempt to counteract a disproportionate number of ethnic minority students.⁷⁷² This contradicts sharply with the situation of the Afro-Caribbean community, which has often been referred to as a replacement community for the white working class population, both in the employment and housing sectors, and as having the most difficulties in achieving success and integration.⁷⁷³ It would therefore seem unlikely that this laissez-faire capitalism that appears to have suited Newcastle's Muslim immigrant population so well would provide the Afro-Caribbean community with the same benefits. With regards to Bremen, it would seem natural to assume that Germany's federal-structured government has benefited the city's Muslim immigrant community. It is a well-documented notion that Bremen's political outlook is one of a more liberal orientation compared to more conservative Bavaria, for example.⁷⁷⁴ This political difference had a large effect on both cities' immigrant communities in relation to schooling during the 1970s when Bavaria aimed at preparing Turkish children solely for

⁷⁷¹ For Newcastle see Todd, 'Black-on-Tyne' and Byrne, 'Is the North of England English?'. For Bremen see Buse, 'Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen', p. 5, Buse, 'Urban and National Identity'.

⁷⁷² See Black Business Development Project, 1981, MD.NC/162/1, Zimmer and Aldrich, 'Resource Mobilization Through Ethnic Networks', Burney, *Housing on Trial*, Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, Male, 'Multicultural Education and Education Policy', p. 293, See Miller, 'Race Relations and the Schools in Great Britain', p. 253, Kirp, 'The Vagaries of Discrimination' and Little, 'The Educational Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in London Schools'.

⁷⁷³ See Peach, *West Indian Migration to Britain*, pp. 95-97, Harris, 'Post-war Migration and the Industrial Reserve Army', A. Richmond, *Colour Prejudice in Britain. A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1941-1951* (London, 1954) and L. Chessum, *From Immigrants to Ethnic Minority. Making Black Community in Britain* (Aldershot, 2000).

⁷⁷⁴ For Bremen see Buse, 'Federalism and Identity', H. Gerstenberger, *Bremer Freiheiten: zur Geschichte und Gegenwart des Stadtstaates Bremen* (Bremen, 1997) and H. Müller, *Occupation-Enclave-State. Wiederbegründung des Landes Bremen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bremen, 1997), pp. 33-39. For Bavaria see P. Gottfried, *Conservative Millenarians: The Romantic Experience in Bavaria* (New York, 1979).

a return to the homeland, whilst Bremen's local authority devised measures for their potential stay in Germany.⁷⁷⁵

It is perhaps curious then that despite the vast differences in types of immigration, the varying policies and measures that have been implemented by national and regional governments, and the notions of regional patriotism that the historiography so forcefully depicts, the established literature uses terms such as "European immigration", "European Islam", and "European Muslims".⁷⁷⁶ This "Europeanization" has doubtlessly been the result of the post-war economic boom that attracted so many immigrants to industrial centres across Western Europe and the emergence of what is termed a "multiethnic" or "multicultural" Europe.⁷⁷⁷ Traindafyllidou, Modood and Zapata-Barrero refer to a crisis of European multiculturalism that has been the result of European citizenship being disorientated 'increasingly linking a religion (Islam) with violence and anti-Western values.'⁷⁷⁸ Even before 9/11, the Madrid bombings of March 2004 and the London bombings of July 2005, there appears to have been strong claims of a division between Islam and the "Christian West". As Vertovec and Peach point out, a good depiction of this was the June 1992 issue of *Time* magazine that pictured an automatic weapon and a

⁷⁷⁵ See Rist, 'On the Education of Guestworker Children in Germany', pp. 245-251, Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Die Brücke zur Heimat nicht abbrechen-das "offene Modell" Bayerns', Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, 'Das Kultusministerium weist Angriffe auf das bayerische Modell zur schulischen Betreuung der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer zurück', Bavarian State Ministry for Instruction and Culture, *Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*, Mahler, 'Das bayerische Modell-Vorbild einer ländereinheitlichen Regelung', Mahler, 'Das bayerische Schulmodell in der Diskussion' and Antwort des Senats zur kleinen Anfrage der Fraktion der FDP vom 1. März 1977 (Drs. 9/455) – Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, 25 April 1977.

⁷⁷⁶ See S. Vertovec and C. Peach, *Islam in Europe. The Politics of Religion and Community* (Basingstoke, 1997), B. Lewis and D. Schnapper, *Muslims in Europe* (London, 1994), N. AlSayyad and M. Castells, *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam. Politics, Culture, and Citizenship in the Age of Globalization* (Oxford, 2002), J. Nielsen, *Towards a European Islam* (Basingstoke, 1999), R. Leveau, K. Mohsen-Finan and C. Wihtol de Wenden, *New European Identity and Citizenship* (Aldershot, 2002), T. Gerholm and Y. Lithman, *The New Islamic Presence in Western Europe* (London, 1988) and Ohliger, Schönwälder and Triadafilopoulos, *European Encounters. Migrants, Migration and European Societies since 1945*.

⁷⁷⁷ See K. Schönwälder, R. Ohliger and T. Triadafilopoulos, 'European Encounters: Europe's Migratory Experiences', in Schönwälder, Ohliger and Triadafilopoulos, *European Encounters*, pp. 4-5, H. Fassmann and R. Münz, 'Europäische Migration – ein Überblick', in H. Fassmann and R. Münz (eds), *Migration in Europa. Historische Entwicklung, aktuelle Trends, politische Reaktionen* (Frankfurt, 1996), pp. 13-52, G. Mahajan, 'Multiculturalism in the Age of Terror: Confronting the Challenges', *Political Studies Review* 5 (2007), pp. 317-336 and C. Schierup, 'The "Migration Crisis" and the Genesis of Europe's New Diversity', *Migration, Citizenship, and the European Welfare State* (2006), pp. 21-48.

⁷⁷⁸ A. Triandafyllidou, T. Modood and R. Zapata-Barrero, 'European Challenges to Multicultural Citizenship. Muslims, Secularism and Beyond', in A. Triandafyllidou, T. Modood and R. Zapata-Barrero (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship. A European Approach* (London, 2006), p. 1.

slogan that read 'Islam: Should the World be Afraid?'.⁷⁷⁹ Scholars have since employed terms, such as 'Islamic revolution' and 'clash of civilizations'.⁷⁸⁰ This "Europeanization" has also undeniably been due to the fact that immigration has increasingly become a problem for the European Union. The historiography addressing this issue and the possibility of a common immigration policy is bountiful.⁷⁸¹

Indeed, judging from some of the conclusions reached in previous chapters, this Europeanization of immigrants could be justified. Not only have Muslim immigrants in both Newcastle and Bremen historically striven for small business ownership within the employment sector, but also for owner-occupation within that of housing. It is necessary to recognise, however, that these patterns and trends have not merely formed part of a European phenomenon, but one that extends throughout the Western world. Kumar argues that this concept of a "European Islam" is the result of a long history between the European continent and the Muslim peoples. Examples are the impact of scholars, such as Avicenna and Ibn Khaldun, on Greece and Rome, the adaptation of Slavic traditions and Ottoman culture by Balkan civilization, and the reliance of modern European cuisine on the oranges, spinach and pasta introduced into Moorish Spain.⁷⁸² More recently, debates concerning the notion of a European identity and a Europe-wide common immigration policy have undoubtedly enhanced this concept of a "European Islam".⁷⁸³ However, although the case studies of Newcastle and Britain adhere to the precedent set by an overarching European Muslim immigration, they also unquestionably abide by the patterns and trends displayed by immigrant communities throughout the Western world, a

⁷⁷⁹ Vertovec and Peach, *Islam in Europe*, p. 4.

⁷⁸⁰ See Abedin and Sardar, *Muslim Minorities in the West*, p. 2 and Nielsen, *Towards a European Islam*, p. 129.

⁷⁸¹ See I. Varvitsiotis and G. Kampouroulou, *Immigration Policy in Europe: Towards a Common European Union Immigration Policy: Developments 1999-2005* (Brussels, 2006), G. Korella and P. Twomey, *Towards a European Immigration Policy: Current Situation – Perspectives* (Brussels, 1995) and D. Papademetriou, *Coming Together or Pulling Apart?: The European Union's Struggle With Immigration and Asylum* (Washington, D.C., 1996).

⁷⁸² K. Kumar, 'The Nation-State, the European Union, and Transnational Identities', in AlSayyad and Castells, *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam*, p. 57.

⁷⁸³ See J. de Beus, 'Quasi-National European Identity and European Democracy', *Law and Philosophy* 20 (2001), pp. 283-311, M. Bitsch, W. Loth and R. Poidevin, *Institutions Européennes et Identités Européennes* (Brussels, 1998), L. Cederman, *Constructing Europe's Identity: The External Dimension* (London, 2001), A. Geddes, *Immigration and European Integration: Towards Fortress Europe?* (Manchester, 2000), S. Peers, *EU Immigration and Asylum Law: Text and Commentary* (Leiden, 2006) and A. Baldaccini, E. Guild and H. Toner, *Whose Freedom, Security and Justice?: EU Immigration and Asylum Law and Policy* (Oxford, 2007).

factor that much of the historiography that focuses on Europe fails to convey.⁷⁸⁴ Hence, terms such as “multiculturalism” are also not restricted to Western Europe, but are often also used to describe other Western societies.⁷⁸⁵

Furthermore, it would seem as though Newcastle and Bremen’s Muslim immigrant communities also deviate from the established historical literature in relation to the role that Islam has played in determining their overall integration. The early to mid-1990s witnessed the emergence of numerous works that argued that Muslim immigrants are a group apart from other ethnic minority communities as a result of their culture and religion.⁷⁸⁶ Triandafyllidou, Modood and Zapata-Barrero, for example, explain how Muslims have become a ‘problem case’ on Europe’s multiculturalist agenda, mentioning the Satanic Verses, France’s headscarf affair, the issue of religious school funding, and 9/11 as evidence of this.⁷⁸⁷ Indeed, such events have propelled Islam and Europe’s Muslims to the centre of the political agenda, and many scholars have incorrectly assumed that, as a result of this debate that is both ongoing and increasingly heated, Muslim immigrant communities have unquestionably failed at achieving integration. Parekh, for example, argues that ‘...although Muslim immigrants have now been in Europe for over four decades, they have, unlike their past and present counterparts, failed to integrate. They show no commitment to its democratic institutions

⁷⁸⁴ See Nielsen, *Towards a European Islam*, Lewis and Schnapper, *Muslims in Europe*, Leveau, Mohsen-Finan and de Wenden, *New European Identity and Citizenship*, W. Shadid and P. Van Koningsveld, *Muslims in the Margin: Political Responses to the Presence of Islam in Western Europe* (Kampen, 1996) and H. Djait, *Europe and Islam: Cultures and Modernity* (Berkeley, 1985).

⁷⁸⁵ See C. Joppke, ‘The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy’, *The British Journal of Sociology* 55 (2004), pp. 237-257, D. King, ‘Facing the Future: America’s Post-Multiculturalist Trajectory’, *Social Policy and Administration* 39 (2005), pp. 116-129 and J. Forrest, M. Poulsen and R. Johnston, ‘A “Multicultural Model” of the Spatial Assimilation of Ethnic Minority Groups in Australia’s Major Immigrant-Receiving Cities’, *Urban Geography* 27 (2006), pp. 441-463.

⁷⁸⁶ See J. Cesari and S. McLoughlin, *European Muslims and the Secular State* (Aldershot, 2006), H. Hellyer, *The European Union and its Muslim Populations* (Coventry, 2005), R. Pauly, *Islam in Europe: Integration or Marginalization?* (Aldershot, 2004), Modood, Triandafyllidou and Zapata-Barrero, *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship*, Lewis and Schnapper, *Muslims in Europe*, P. Lewis, *Islamic Britain. Religion, Politics and Identity Among British Muslims* (New York, 2002), E. Poole, *Reporting Islam. Media Representations of British Muslims* (New York, 2002), C. Yalonios, *Western Perception of Islam and Muslims: A Study of Public Opinion and the Role of the Media in the United States and Western Europe* (San Rafael, 2005), G. Kepel, *Allah in the West: Islamic Movements in America and Europe* (Oxford, 1997), A. Höfert and A. Salvatore, *Between Europe and Islam: Shaping Identity in a Transcultural Space* (Oxford, 2000), Z. Shore, *Breeding Bin Ladens: America, Islam, and the Future of Europe* (Baltimore, 2006) and F. Cardini, *Europe and Islam* (Oxford, 2001).

⁷⁸⁷ Triandafyllidou, Modood and Zapata-Barrero, ‘European Challenges to Multicultural Citizenship’, pp. 3-10.

and mock its liberal freedoms. They do not feel at home in European societies and prefer to live among themselves, forming a relatively self-contained community maintaining only the minimum necessary ties with the wider society.⁷⁸⁸

However, as has been illustrated both by much of the historiography brought to light throughout this research project and by the particular case studies of Newcastle and Bremen, the independence striven for by the Muslim immigrant communities is neither a consequence of Islam, nor is it an indicator of non-integration. Firstly, traces of economic and residential independence have been present amongst minority communities of all ethnicities whether in Britain, Germany, Europe or across the Western world.⁷⁸⁹ Secondly, as has been seen in relation to Newcastle and Bremen, Muslim immigrants have traditionally opted for independence. In other words, their self-sufficiency has not been the result of discrimination or, most importantly, it is not proof of their failure to integrate. Rather, in many cases, these immigrants worked alongside their indigenous counterparts as either factory workers or public transport drivers in order to attain the necessary financial capital for economic and residential independence.

It seems as though culture, not religion, has been the driving force behind Newcastle and Bremen's Muslim immigrant communities' desire for independence. The prevalent historiography has long stressed the importance of cultural ties to the homeland for immigrant communities, whether it be amongst Irish immigrants in England, *beur* immigrants in France or the Polish community in the US.⁷⁹⁰ In fact, many works have asserted that it is often the case that immigrants grasp onto their indigenous language,

⁷⁸⁸ B. Parekh, 'Europe, Liberalism and the "Muslim Question"', in Modood, Triandafyllidou and Barrero, *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship*, p. 179.

⁷⁸⁹ See A. Song, *Family, Work, and Cultural Identity: Children's Labor in Chinese Take-away Businesses in Britain* (London, 1996), M. Leung, 'Beyond Chinese, Beyond Food: Unpacking the Regulated Chinese Restaurant Business in Germany', *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 15 (2003), pp. 103-118, Sørholt, 'Ethnic Minority Groups and Strategies in the Housing Market in Oslo' and Light, 'Immigrant Place Entrepreneurs in Los Angeles, 1970-99'. For one of the few works that have discarded Islam as an important determinant in the immigrants' experiences in host societies see Y. Lithman, 'Social Relations and Cultural Continuities: Muslim Immigrants and Their Social Networks', in Gerholm and Lithman, *The New Islamic Presence in Western Europe*, pp. 239-262.

⁷⁹⁰ See M. Malone and J. Dooley, 'Dwelling in Displacement', *Community, Work and Family* 9 (2006), pp. 11-28, A. Hargreaves, 'Beur Fiction: Voices from the Immigrant Community in France', *The French Review* 62 (1989), pp. 661-668 and M. Erdmans, 'Immigrants and Ethnics: Conflict and Identity in Chicago Polonia', *Sociological Quarterly* 36 (1995), pp. 175-195.

culture, norms and traditions more so once they have left the homeland.⁷⁹¹ Others have concluded that the second and third generations of the Muslim immigrant communities across Europe are developing a new type of Islam, one that allows for exploration and interpretation and, most importantly, establishes a distinction between “religion” and “culture” in which religious values have been surpassed by culture.⁷⁹² Consequently, it is perhaps this newfound importance of culture that acts as assurance that the immigrants’ indigenous cultures do not get washed away in a “Western cultural tide”.

It could very well be this same fear that has historically driven Newcastle and Bremen’s Muslim immigrant communities to pursue a rugged individualism. Upon arrival in both cities, immigrants chose to live in the districts of Fenham and Gröpelingen, not because they were Muslim hotspots, but because it was in these areas that they could afford property. However, as over the years mosques and *halal* food stores began to emerge, it was indeed these districts that became the natural homes of the Muslim immigrant communities. Similarly, within the employment sector, a striving for independence has led to the establishment of small businesses, which have, in turn, attracted the younger generations. Therefore, it could be argued that, although the “conquering” of Newcastle and Bremen’s West Ends was not the result of the Islamic religion, these districts have increasingly been perceived as the homes of Muslim immigrants.

It is, however, essential to realise that in neither Newcastle nor Bremen do Muslim immigrants live entirely segregated from the indigenous populations. Rather, in both cases, they have historically lived dispersed amongst the local working classes. This residential factor distinguishes these two Muslim immigrant communities from those of other major British and German cities, such as Birmingham and Berlin where immigrant communities endure higher levels of isolation.⁷⁹³ In many ways, Muslim immigrants in

⁷⁹¹ See R. Leveau, ‘The Political Culture of the “Beurs”’, in Vertovec and Peach, *Islam in Europe*, pp. 147-155 and E. Viruell-Fuentes, ‘“My Heart is Always There”: The Transnational Practices of First-Generation Mexican Immigrant and Second-Generation Mexican American Women’, *Identities: Global Studies in Power and Culture* 13 (2006), pp. 335-362.

⁷⁹² See Vertovec and Peach, *Islam in Europe*, p. 40, K. Knott and S. Khokher, ‘Religious and Ethnic Identity Among Young Muslim Women in Bradford’, *New Community* 19 (1993), p. 596 and Z. Sardar, ‘Racism, Identity and Muslims in the West’, in Abedin and Sardar, *Muslim Minorities in the West*, p. 12.

⁷⁹³ See Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, P. Jones, ‘Coloured Minorities in Birmingham, England’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66 (1976), pp. 89-103, J. Bockmeyer, ‘Social Cities and Social Inclusion: Assessing the Role of Turkish Residents in Building the

Newcastle and Bremen have benefited from these two proletarian post-industrial societies.⁷⁹⁴ The historiography portraying the North East as a welcoming host, a region with a true sense of community and a supporter of the “underdog” is bountiful.⁷⁹⁵ What could be suggested, however, is that this is less a case of North Eastern patriotism and more one of a proletarian acceptance of the outsider. Whether it is Newcastle, South Shields or Sunderland in question, there has traditionally been a common bond of victim status between the plebeian worker and the Pakistani immigrant.

To the contrary, Buse’s work depicts Bremen as the home of an identity that has historically acted as a catalyst for jingoism and xenophobia.⁷⁹⁶ However, what he perhaps fails to recognise is the vast number of alien immigrants that successfully became integrated into Bremen’s society during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These immigrants swarmed from Poland, Croatia and Czechoslovakia to work in Bremen’s ever-expanding local economy. They worked in the spinning mills, the shipbuilding industry and the agricultural sector.⁷⁹⁷ This history of immigration combined with Bremen’s position as one of the more proletarian German federal states undoubtedly gives it a sense of camaraderie comparable to that of Newcastle.⁷⁹⁸ It would appear that both Newcastle and Bremen are exceptions to Gilroy’s claim that issues of class have paled in significance in comparison to those of race.⁷⁹⁹

New Berlin’, *German Politics & Society* 24 (2006), pp. 49-76 and W. Kil and H. Silver, ‘From Kreuzberg to Marzahn: New Migrant Communities in Berlin’, *German Politics & Society* 24 (2006), pp. 95-121.

⁷⁹⁴ See N. McCord, *Essays in Tyneside Labour History* (Newcastle, 1977), Colls and Lancaster, *Geordies: Roots of Regionalism*, D. Cassidy, *The Way Things Were: Growing Up in Newcastle* (Sutton, 2005), M. Callcott and R. Challinor, *Working Class Politics in North East England* (Newcastle, 1983), J. Oltmann, *Kalter Krieg und kommunale Integration: Arbeiterbewegung im Stadtteil Bremen-Vegesack 1945-1956* (Marburg, 1987), J. Blandow, *Von Friedrich Ebert bis Ella Ehlers: die Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der bremischen Arbeiterwohlfaht* (Bremen, 1995) and M. Friese, *Frauenarbeit und soziale Reproduktion: eine Strukturuntersuchung zur Herausbildung des weiblichen Proletariats im Übergangsprozess zur bürgerlich-kapitalistischen Gesellschaft, dargestellt an der Region Bremen* (Bremen, 1991).

⁷⁹⁵ See Todd, ‘Black-on-Tyne’, Byrne, ‘Is the North of England English?’ and Renton, ‘Hostility or Welcome?’.

⁷⁹⁶ See Buse, ‘Anti-Semitism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bremen’ and Buse, ‘Urban and National Identity’.

⁷⁹⁷ See Barfuss, ‘Foreign Workers In and Around Bremen, 1884-1918’, Barfuss, ‘*Gastarbeiter*’ in *Nordwestdeutschland, 1884-1918* and R. Rumschüssel, *Die Lage der polnischen Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen bei der Wollkämmerei von 1886 und 1914* (Oldenburg, 1989).

⁷⁹⁸ See M. Ellerkamp, *Industriearbeit, Krankheit und Geschlecht: zu den sozialen Kosten der Industrialisierung: Bremer Textilarbeiterinnen, 1870-1914* (Göttingen, 1991), A. Beckmann and W. Wilts, *50 Jahre Bremer Wollhandel: 1945 bis 1995: eine Dokumentation* (Bremen, 1996) and G. Lahusen, *Die Nordwolle unter unserer Leistung* (Bremen, 1932).

⁷⁹⁹ Gilroy, *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack*, pp. xviii-xix.

As well as this regional demography, it is also necessary to assess the impact of Britain and Germany's national immigration histories. There is little doubt that Germany's state-organised, yet privately negotiated, guest-worker rotation system had huge impacts on the performance of Bremen's Muslim immigrants within the employment, housing and education sectors.⁸⁰⁰ For the most part, their initial employment and housing patterns were entirely determined by the companies they worked for. However, as the economic downturn of the 1970s took hold of Bremen's economy and the shipbuilding giants AG Weser and Bremer Vulkan stopped recruiting foreign labour, Muslim immigrants began to venture out into Bremen's society for the first time. What has since slowly emerged is a Muslim immigrant community that is increasingly striving for the same independence that Britain's relatively liberal (albeit constrained after 1962) immigration policy permitted decades earlier.⁸⁰¹

This thesis hopes to have offered an account of Muslim immigration into two differing, though comparable, host societies not from the ivory tower of academia, but from the street corner and shipyard through to the statute. In doing so, it does not suggest like many contemporary historians, any policy initiatives, but instead highlights the divergence between bureaucratic statutory requirements and human nature.⁸⁰² However frustrating they may be for both politicians and historians alike, human beings and, in this case, Muslim immigrants, simply fail to be compartmentalised into dissectible and malleable groups that can be directed by government or research initiatives. This thesis has attempted to avoid a social, economic and cultural vivisection of immigrant societies within host communities. Rather than offering the defeatist conclusion that the "remedy" to Muslim integration in both Britain and Germany is inaction, this thesis hopes to have

⁸⁰⁰ See Schönwälder, *Einwanderung und ethnische Pluralität. Politische Entscheidungen und öffentliche Debatten in Großbritannien und der Bundesrepublik von den 1950er bis zu den 1970er*, Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, Schönwälder, 'West German Society and Foreigners in the 1960s', Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?*, Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*, Völker, 'Labor Migration' and Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*.

⁸⁰¹ See Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939*, Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*, Karatani, *Defining British Citizenship*, Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-State*, Paul, *Whitewashing Britain* and Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*.

⁸⁰² See W. Safran, 'Islamization in Western Europe: Political Consequences and Historical Parallels', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 485 (1985), pp. 98-112, E. Meyers, 'Theories of International Immigration Policy – A Comparative Analysis', *International Migration Review* 34 (2000), pp. 1245-1282 and S. Sassen, 'Beyond Sovereignty: Immigration Policy Making Today', *Social Justice* 23 (1996), pp. 9-20.

shed light on the personalities of integration and on the fact that the experiences of these immigrants did not depend upon them being "Muslim". Though the politicians and historians are singing from a multicultural and assimilationist hymn sheet, we find our Muslim immigrant more concerned with the weekly shopping list, wholesaler flyer or stock order form. Daily life appears to have continued within the respective immigrant communities almost in willing ignorance of the policy debates and fraught deliberations of Westminster and Bonn. A dangerous trend within the current historiography is that the story of immigration and immigrants has become one of quotas, percentage points and political scientists.

Having analysed the immigrants' arrival, experiences and levels of integration, this thesis concludes that, although Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen are arriving at the same destination, they did not take the same path. Whilst the position of Newcastle's Muslim immigrant community has remained constant for the most part, that of Bremen has experienced an incremental integration. The initial role played by the national immigration histories has gradually been replaced by the characteristics of a working class society and the benefits of a small immigrant population. Unlike has been the case in cities with larger immigrant communities, such as Birmingham or Berlin, Newcastle and Bremen's infrastructures have succeeded in absorbing their respective Muslim immigrant community without the cities' Malthusian resource limits having been reached. Arguing the benefits of a smaller immigrant community could be seen by many as controversial. However, there is little doubt that Muslim immigrants in Newcastle and Bremen have fared better than those in other British and German cities as their proletarian societies have managed to absorb their comparably small ethnic minority communities.

The integration of these two minorities into their cities of Newcastle and Bremen has depended upon both of their port statuses and their long experience of passing and settling populations. In Newcastle, whether it was the Scottish Presbyterian of the seventeenth century, the Irish Catholic of the nineteenth or the Muslim immigrant of the late twentieth, immigrants have been welcomed and absorbed into what is

overwhelmingly a proletarian and working-class society.⁸⁰³ Although Bremen acted as a port through which millions passed on their way to the New World, it similarly successfully absorbed large numbers of Croats, Ruthenians, Poles and Bohemians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸⁰⁴ As long as the Muslim populations of both cities remain within the confines of local resources and can be absorbed into the local economies, harmonious integration is likely to continue. It appears that in terms of immigration, size does matter.

⁸⁰³ See M. Greenhall, 'Cattle to Claret: Scottish Economic Influence in North East England, 1660-1750', *History Today* 56 (2006), pp. 22-30 and Cooter, *When Paddy Met Geordie*.

⁸⁰⁴ See Armgort, *Bremen, Bremerhaven, New York, Marschalck, Inventar der Quellen zur Geschichte der Wanderungen, besonders der Auswanderung, in Bremer Archiven*, Barfuss, 'Foreign Workers In and Around Bremen, 1884-1918', Barfuss, "*Gastarbeiter*" in *Nordwestdeutschland, 1884-1918* and Rumschüssel, *Die Lage der polnischen Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen bei der Wollkämmerei von 1886 und 1914*.

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